

T- 6333

THE VIJAYANAGARA URBANITY

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
KARNATAK UNIVERSITY, DHARWAD
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

In

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By
H.M.CHANDRASHEKHARA SHASTHRI

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF
DR.K.R.BASAVARAJA
PROFESSOR (RETD.)



**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
KARNATAK UNIVERSITY, DHARWAD – 580 003.
INDIA**

2002

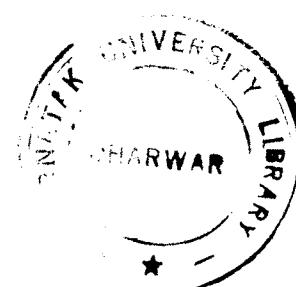
Certificate

*This is to certify that the thesis entitled “THE VIJAYANAGARA URBANITY” submitted by **H.M. CHANDRASHEKHARA SHASTHRI** to the Karnataka University, Dharwad for the award of the Degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** in History and Archaeology represents his original work carried out by him under my guidance. Further, I certify that the thesis either in full or part thereof has not been previously presented for any other Degree or Diploma of this University or any other University.*

Date : 30.03.2002

Place : Dharwad

KR Basaraja
Dr. K.R. Basavaraja, 30.03.2002
Professor & Guide (Retd.),
Dept. of the History &
Archaeology,
Karnatak University,
Dharwad.



Declaration

*I hereby declare that the thesis entitled "**THE VIJAYANAGARA URBANITY**" submitted by me to the Karnataka University, Dharwad for the award of the Degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** in History and Archaeology is an original research work carried out by me under the guidance of **Dr.K.R.BASAVARAJA**, Professor (Retd.), Department of History and Archaeology, Karnataka University, Dharwad. I further declare that this thesis either in full or part thereof has not been previously submitted for any Degree or Diploma of this University or any other University.*

Date : 30.03.2002

Place : Dharwad

H.M. Chandrashekara Shastri



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge my sincere thanks to C.D.C. of Gulbarga University and C.D.C. of Karnatak University for providing me an opportunity to complete the research work. My heartfelt thanks are due to the U.G.C. authorities but for whose FIP Scheme I would not have got this opportunity.

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to my respected teacher and research guide, Dr. K.R. Basavaraja, Professor, (Retd), Department of History and Archaeology, Karnatak University Dharwad under whose kind and valuable guidance I had the privilege of completing this research work. His excellent advice and sincere criticism at every stage of my doctoral study are memorable and I do not have sufficient words to express my deep sense of gratitude to him.

I am thankful to my respected teacher, Dr. S. Rajasekhara, Professor and Chairman, Department of History and Archaeology, Karnatak University, Dharwad for his valuable suggestions during my study.

I am also thankful to the faculty members of the Department of History and Archaeology. Prof. M.T. Kamble, Prof. Ravi Korisettar, Sri. H.B. Sunkad, Dr. I.K. Pattar, Sri. S.K. Kallolikar, Sri. A.V. Shettar, Smt. V.R. Bolar, Sri. S.Y. Mugali, who encouraged me in completing this work. I am also thankful to the non-teaching staff of the Department.

I am grateful to Sri. Koluru Basavana Gouda, M.P., President V.V. Sangha, Bellary, Sri. Arivi Basavanagouda, Vice-President, V.V. Sangha, Bellary and Chairman of the Governing Body, Vijayanagara College, Hospet.

I am extremely thankful to Prof. D.C. Goud, Head (Retd)Department of History, Vijayanagara College, Hospet and Sri.H.Channabasappa, Head

(Retd) Department of History Vijayanagara College, Hospet for their moral support and continuos encouragement.

My sincere thanks are due to Sri. H.P. Salankimath, Principal, Vijayanagara College, Hospet, Sri. G.M. Guru Basavaraja, Principal (Retd), Vijayanagara College, Sri. T. Parameshwarappa, Head, Department of History, Vijayanagara College, Hospet.

I am thankful to Dr. Basavaraja N. Akki, Lecturer, Govt. F.G.C. Nargund and Dr.K.Jagadeesh for having given me all the help and suggesting improvements.

I am thankful to Sri. C.T.M. Kotraiah Superintending Archaeologist (Retd) ASI, Mysore, Dr. K.M. Suresh, Kannada University, Hampi, Dr. J. M. Fritz, University of New Mexico, U.S.A and Dr. George Michell, London.

I am also thankful to the Director, KRI, Karnatak University and other members of the staff of KRI. During the course of research study I have visited a number of institutions and libraries. I am grateful to the members of the staff of the following institutions: Karnatak University Library, Dharwad; Government Museum, Kamalapura; Vijayanagara College Library, Hospet; Hampi University Library, Kamalapura-Hampi; Mysore University Library, Mysore; Bangalore University Library, Bangalore; Hyderabad University Library, Hyderabad, and Mythic Society, Library, Bangalore.

I have no words to express my sincere feelings of gratitude to my father Sri. H.M. Kotraiah, Teacher (Retd.), My wife Smt. Shailaja Shasthri.

I am thankful to Sri. Jitendra B. Deshpande, and Ms. Kanchana, Nisseem Graphics and D.T.P. Centre, Srinagar, Dharwad, for their neat typing, Sri. D.B. Biradar, for his neat binding and Sri Ganesh Yaji, for excellent photos.

H.M.Chandrashekara Shasthri

CONTENTS

| CHAPTER NO. | TITLE | PAGE NO. |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| | CERTIFICATE | |
| | DECLARATION | |
| | ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | |
| | ABBREVIATIONS | |
| I. | INTRODUCTION | 1 – 35 |
| II. | RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CAPITAL CITY | 36 – 67 |
| III. | DEVELOPMENT OF EXTENSIONS AND SUBURBS | 68 – 110 |
| IV. | ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY | 111 – 129 |
| V. | INDUSTRIES, TRADE AND COMMERCE | 130 – 161 |
| VI. | SOCIAL CONDITIONS | 162 – 237 |
| VII. | RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS | 238 – 273 |
| VIII. | TEMPLES IN THE CITY | 274 – 322 |
| IX. | SECULAR STRUCTURES IN THE CITY | 323 – 347 |
| X. | CONCLUSIONS | 348 – 356 |
| | BIBLIOGRAPHY | |
| | MAPS | |
| | ILLUSTRATIONS | |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------|--|
| APHC | Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings. |
| ARIE | Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy |
| ARSIE | Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy |
| ASI | Archaeological Survey of India |
| BVB | Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan |
| DAM | Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore |
| EC | Epigraphia Carnatica |
| EI | Epigraphia Indica |
| HISI | The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India |
| HJMU | Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University |
| IA | Indian Antiquary |
| IHQ | Indian Historical Quarterly |
| IESHR | The Indian Economic and Social History Review |
| JAHRS | Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society |
| JIH | Journal of Indian History |
| JOR | Journal of Oriental Research |
| KI | Karnataka Inscriptions |
| KUES-III | Kannada University Epigraphical Series |
| MAR | Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department |
| MER | Madras Epigraphical Reports |
| MG | Mysore Gazetteer |
| Nel. Ins. | A Collection of the Inscriptions on Copper-plates and Stones in the Nellore District, edited by A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty |
| PIHC | Proceedings of the Indian History Congress |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| QJMS | Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society |
| SII | South Indian Inscriptions |
| TTDI | Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions |
| Vij.Comn.Vol. | Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume |
| VI | Vijayanagara Inscriptions |
| VPR | Vijayanagara Progress of Research |
| VR | A Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency by V. Rangacharya |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SECTION-I:

MEANING, NATURE, NEED, SCOPE OF THE STUDY AND SOURCES

Urban centres are the cradles of civilized life. They exhibit the development of man from ancient to medieval and from medieval to modern times. Science and technology played a significant role in the emergence of urban centres. Urban centres are the conglomerations of people pursuing different professions. Basically they are non-agrarian groups. The development of urban centres depends upon the villages surrounded around them and constituting the hinter land. They are the main suppliers of essential goods and services required by the people of urban centres.

In ancient India and particularly in Karnataka capital cities, centres of trade, commerce and industries, administrative divisions, fortified settlements, and port towns helped directly the emergence of urban centres. Urban centres were also a religious centres and promoted art and architecture. Besides, temples of various faiths played an important part in the promotion of education. Such educational centres attracted students and scholars from the various places and brought about rapid changes in the social set-up and also contributed to the composition of scholarly works in different languages. Thus, the urban centres enabled the development of

different languages and literature. The process of evolution of urban centres is known as urbanization.

Urbanization in medieval Karnataka was a gradual development of villages into towns and cities. The Vijayanagara rulers who ruled over Karnataka in particular and the whole of south in general, brought about political unification after a gap of long three centuries. Their rule witnessed an increasing growth of large number of urban centres. Thus, representing an all round progress of urban centres. The important characteristic features of urban centres were residential quarters, good streets, storage of water, security for subjects and good defence structures. At the same time these were the centres of administration, different religions, trade and commerce. But any one of these characteristic features enabled the process of the development of human settlements. Urbanization was a continuous process of the development of a village into a city.

According to Bergel, urbanization is a process and urbanism is a condition. Urbanization is a process in which rural areas become transformed into urban centres. Urbanism is a condition that results from urbanization. The city is both a collection of architectural forms in space and a tissue of associations, corporate enterprises and institutions that occupy a collective structure and interact. In course of time and the city develops into a centre of culture.

In medieval South India, cultural factors were of greater importance for the development of urban centres. The following criteria may be taken as the traits distinguishing urban centres from the rural settlements.

- (1) Dense population
- (2) Accommodation of non-agricultural classes supported by the surplus food production
- (3) Reliance on widely different food resources
- (4) Strong agricultural hinterland capable of producing surplus quantities of food necessary for supporting the various urban settlements
- (5) Emergence of a ruling class, which gives protection to the subjects.
- (6) The planned streets and roads, drainage system and efficient administration
- (7) Fortification
- (8) Construction of monumental buildings also became one of the important aspects of the urban development
- (9) Increasing use of writing thus distinguishing the city from other types of habitation centres and leading to the emergence of the elite literary class
- (10) Emergence of a monetary exchange system illustrating the circulation of coins
- (11) Emergence of craft organisations and trade organisations in the form of craft guilds or merchant guilds

(12) High production and concentration of surplus leading to the facilitation of foreign trade

Nature, Need and Scope of the Study:

Man is a social animal. The role of the society, and its environment determines the style of living of man. In India society has been dynamic. Various factors influenced in changing the way of life. Villages could not fulfill all the desires and could not provide all facilities. So man moved from rural to urban with an object to improving his standard of living. Hence, 'the rural pull and urban push' took place. Thus, it is very interesting to study the process of urbanization. This is a recent development in historical studies.

In view of the different aspects of urbanization scholars concentrated their attention on this study from sociological, economical, geographical and historical points of view. However, this is a highly neglected area by scholars at regional levels. Mr. Hanuma Nayak of Mangalore University worked on urbanization in Hoysala dynasty. Scholars like Prof. G.S. Dixit, Prof. G.R. Kuppu Swamy and Prof. B.R. Hiremath, B.S. Nagaraj have worked systematically on the growth of towns and cities in ancient Karnataka. There are no studies on urbanization of medieval Karnataka, especially of Vijayanagara period. Hence, this topic on Urbanization is selected for the study.

Karnataka was successively ruled by various dynasties like: Kadambas of Banavāsi, Gangas of Talkāḍ, Chālukyas of Bādāmi, Rāshṭrakūṭas of Małakhēḍ, Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, Hoysālas of Dōrasamudra. During this period, ancient Karnataka witnessed the emergence of towns like: Banavāsi, Halasi, Uchchangi, Bādāmi, Pattadakal, Aihole, Małakhed, Talakāḍ, Tālagunda, Baḍigave, Dōrasamudra, Bēlūr, Haṭebid, Lakshmēshwara, and Lakkundi.

In medieval Karnataka, there rose Vijayanagara empire and Bahamani kingdom. The Vijayanagara empire extended its power not only in Karnataka but also in Āndhra, Tamiṇnāḍ and Ōrissā. In the history of Karnataka the contribution of Vijayanagara in all the fields is varied and splendorous. Even today they are known to the whole world by their excellent work in the field of art and architecture. A few well known sites which are listed in the UNESCO list of World Heritage like: Virūpāksha Temple, Hazāra Rāma Temple, Viṭṭhala Temple, Bālakrishṇa Temple, Achyūtarāya Temple, Paṭṭabhirāma Temple, Mahānavamidibba, Queen's Bath, Elephants Stables, and Lotus Mahal etc., are attracting the visitors in large numbers. The architectural skill and engineering feat is highly appreciated by the present day experts.

Sources of the Study:

Sources are important for reconstructing the history of Vijayanagara, during the period AD 1336-1565. These sources are classified into the following six categories: inscriptions, numismatics, monuments, literature, accounts of foreigners and traditional (folk) accounts.

Inscriptions shed considerable light on the social, political, economic and religious conditions of the times. These inscriptions are of two types, those engraved on copper plates and those written on stone. The latter are far more in number. Both are generally donative in character and register gifts of various kinds made by men and women from all walks of life to temples, mathas, basadis. Some of these epigraphs these epigraphs record also construction of temples, mathas, and jaina temples, consecration of images and structural improvements effected in temples. Inscriptions often refer to the donor, donee, purpose and occasion of the gift, composer of the record etc. If the donor happens to be a king or general, a minister or some other dignitary in the service of the state, the information usually relates to his name and ancestry, his status, in social and political life, his titles and achievements. Where the donee happens to be a temple or a matha, the information relates to the name of the presiding deity of the temple, nature of service conducted in the shrine, the denomination of the matha and its activities, the staff of the institution, etc. Epigraphs throw light upon the

conditions of religion. They refer not only to the construction of temples but also to gifts made to them for their maintenance. The gifts were intended for several purposes. Provisions were made for performing not only daily worship such as offering oblations, lighting lamps, daily services, but also weekly, fortnightly, monthly and annual festivals celebrated in different temples. There were fairs also conducted in various parts of the city and the kingdom. Inscriptions also give accounts of the temple and its hierarchy of servants, who carried out various duties in the temple and so on. Provision was made for maintenance of various classes of temple servants. As such the temple became the cultural centre where music, both vocal and instrumental, as well as dance flourished. In some inscriptions there are references to mathas belonging to different religious denominations and liberal gifts which were made for the maintenance of the inmates of the mathas who not only propagated religion but also maintained schools in which religious and secular education was imparted.

Some inscriptions throw welcome light on the boundaries of the puras, various articles sold at different bazārs and *pēṭes*. And also give details of the toll and taxes collected from shops.

Literature, as a source material is most informative for studying the different aspects of urbanization of Vjayanagara. The rulers of Vijayanagara were great lovers and generous patrons of belles lettres.

Through their lavish generosity they attracted to their court a galaxy of eminent poets. The celebrated court of Krishṇadeva Rāya, known as *Bhuvanavijayam*, adorned by the great *Astha-diggajas* (the eight great poets), was particularly famous. The poetical genius, moral fervour and the zeal usually associated with religious teachers, produced a host of literary works of great merit, thus making an abiding contribution to the literary heritage, secular as well as sectarian, of the empire.

The rulers and members of the royal families of Vijayanagara were not only the patrons of letters, but were themselves great scholars. Some of them were distinguished poets as well. For example, Gangadevi, the wife of Kumāra Kampaṇa wrote a poetical work in Sanskrit entitled *Madhurāvijayam*. King Krishṇadeva Rāya, the patron of the *Astha-diggajas*, was the author of two famous works, the *Amuktamālyada* in Telugu and *Jāmbuvati Kalyānam* in Sanskrit.

The noteworthy literary works of this period are in four languages, Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada, and Tamil. The whole empire of Vijayanagara comprised of three distinct linguistic areas viz., Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil countries. It is therefore, but natural that the rulers of this tri-lingual empire patronised poets in all the three languages, besides Sanskrit that had for centuries past, been considered the medium of poetic expressions par-excellence.

Among the Sanskrit works mention may be made of the more important ones viz., *Brahmasūtra Vṛitti* of Praudha Devarāya, *Nyāyāmrīta* of Vyāsarāya and *Madhurāvijayam* by princess Gangādēvi. Other works are *Rāmābhyyūdayam*, by Sāluva Narasimha which narrates the story of *Rāmāyana*. Rājanātha Dīṇḍima's *Sāluvābhyyūdayam*, celebrating the glory of Sāluva Narasimha and *Jambuvati Kalyāṇam* by king Krishnadeva Rāya, who was also a gifted scholar in both Sanskrit and Telugu languages. Another work *Achyūtarāyabhyyūdayam* of Rājanātha Dīṇḍima narrates the victories of Achyūtadeva Rāya. The *Vyāsayōgi Charitam*, written by Sōmanātha, Anantāchārya's *Prapannāmritam*, and *Yuktimallikā* of Vādirāja, the *Virūpāksha Vasantōtsava* composed by poet Ahōbala etc, are the other valuable works for the study of Vijayanagara history.

Some of the Telugu works like: *Uttaraharivamsamu*, written by Nāchana Sōmanātha, a court poet of Bukka-I ; the *Harivilasamu* of Śrinātha, however, is the most important one, containing as it does some historical and puranic incidents; Śrinātha's *Sivāratrimahātmyamu* throws light on *Sivarātri-Vratā*. Another important work of his *Kāshikandamu*, which describes Kāśī as the centre of Hindu religious life and also mentions various centres of pilgrimage in South India. Emperor Krishnadeva Rāya's magnum opus, the *Āmuktamālyada* is a veritable treasure house on the art of state craft and it deals with the different aspects of life in Vijayanagara.

Allasani Peddanna, one of the great and senior *Astha-diggajas* wrote *Manucharitamu. Pārijātaphaharanamu* of Nandi Timmaṇa eulogizes the harmony of religious proclivities of Krishṇadēva Rāya and his times. The *Rāyavāchakamu* is a work in colloquial Telugu prose said to have been written at the behest of Visvanātha Nayaka by his agent at the court of Vijayanagara in the time of Krishṇadēva Rāya. This work deals with the Rāya's expeditions, and describes the incidents connected with the reign of Krishṇadēva Rāya. As introduction to his main theme the author refers to the foundation of the city and kingdom of Vijayanagara. The written account finds corroboration in the epigraphical records of Krishṇadēva Rāya. The works of Tenāli Rāmakrishṇa, Madayyagāri Mallāṇa, and Nambūri Kēshavāchārya etc., also depict the religious life and practices of the Vijayanagara times.

Much of the Kannada literature of the Vijayanagara period was inspired by the Vīraśaiva divines and its philosophy. Some of the Kannada works centred around god Śiva and His līlas, Śaiva saints, the Nāyanars of the South, miracles performed by Basavēśvara and his followers the supreme sanctity of the *Panchakshari mantra* etc.

The *Sivatattvachintāmani* of Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍesha, a historical account of Śaivism, gives a good account of the planning of the Vijayanagara capital city. The *Pampāsthanavarnanam* by Chandra Shēkhara also known as

Chandrakavi. *Mōhanatarangini* of Kanakadāsa, give an authentic description of bazārs. The *Channabasavapurāṇa* a Champū of Virūpāksha pandita, a sixteenth century poet who lived in the Vijayanagara city and completed his monumental work in AD 1585 i.e, twenty years after the sack of city in the Talikota battle. The *Sanatkumāracharitre* of Terankanmbi Bommarasa, Harihara's *Pampāśataka*, *Pushpa Ragale*, *Girijākalyāṇa* etc. give glimpses of Vijayanagara city.

In addition to these, there is in Kannada, a rich heritage of devotional songs, popularly called *Dāsara Padagalu*. The composers of these songs were Dasas, who spontaneously expressed their feelings about world, soul and the supreme being; and often made references to the capital city, its streets, markets, feeding houses, traditions prevailing in the society etc, in their respective songs. Among these composers reference should be made to Śripadaraya, Purandaradāsa, and Kanakadāsa.

Many Tamil scholars flourished during the period of Vijayanagara rule, who enriched Tamil literature by their important works. Tatavaprakāśa Svāmīgal of Tiruvārūr, composed the *Tatvaprakāsham*, expounding the Śaiva philosophy. Vaḍamalai Aṇṇagalayyan who was a Vaishṇava by faith was the author of *Irusamaya Vilakkam*, projecting the superiority of Vaishṇavism. Jnanaprakāśa Dēśikar described the greatness of Kanchi in his *Kañchi Kalambākam*.

Accounts of Foreign Travellers:

By far the most popular historical sources for Vijayanagara are the widely quoted accounts of the foreign visitors. From fifteenth century we have glimpses of that splendid City as seen and recorded by these chroniclers from different countries, who visited the city at different times of its hey day. Some of them have travelled extensively in the empire and recorded their impressions of men and matter there. Their accounts constitute an important source of information for the present study.

Nicolo-di-Conti, a Venetian visited Vijayanagara about the year AD 1420 during the rule of Dévarāya-II. He stayed for some time at Vijayanagara and also made an extensive tour of the empire. He has recorded in Latin what he observed in the city and the empire, which was later translated into Portuguese language. He describes the circumference, and population of the great city.

A Persian ambassador, Abdur Razzak, to the Vijayanagara city paid the highest tribute to the glory and magnificence of that city. He visited in AD 1442, during the reign of Dévarāya II. About the capital city he says, that “The City of Bidjanagara is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world.” Italian traveller Ludovico-di-Varthama, visited the Capital City at the time of Narasimha-II of the Sāluva

dynasty. He has many words of praise of this metropolitan Vijayanagara city.

The Russian traveller, Athanasius Nikitin, who visited Gulburga between AD-1468 and 1474, when king Mallikārjuna was the ruler at Vijayanagara, has also left behind a good account of this vast City, though he did not visit the city but heard of it from others.

During the period of Krishnadevaraya's rule many foreign travellers visited the city and Empire. One was Durate Barbosa and other one was Domingos Paes, both of them were Portuguese travellers. Durate Barbosa has given picturesque account of the capital city, and has written about the glory of the empire. His work "*Description of the East Indies and countries on the seaboard of the Indian Ocean*", based on his own personal observations his account furnishes much useful information about the social customs and religious practices prevalent in those days.

The most elaborate and a vivid picture of this City is given by Domingos Paes. His impressions include an elaborate account of the Mahānavami festival, which was celebrated by the Vijayanagara rulers with great pomp and splendour.

Another Portuguese chronicler Fernao Nuniz visited the Vijayanagara empire when king Achyūtadevaraya was ruling. He left behind a very graphic picture of the power politics, religious beliefs, practices and festivals

of Vijayanagara. As he was a keen observer his account is by far the most interesting and informative. He furnishes a retrospective story of the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. The story given by him is corroborated by contemporary epigraphical records and literary works.

Ceasaro Federici from Italy, visited the capital city, immediately after the battle of Talikota. He has given an account of the destruction of the city wrought by the victorious armies of the Bahmani.

Other informative sources, which help us in the study of Vijayanagara history is the traditional accounts. These belong to the *Chāṭu Krutulu*, the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the Local Records and certain literary works. The *Chāṭu Krutulu* are of stray verses full of witty and historical details composed by different poets on different occasions. They are a medley of colourful flattery and stinging satire aimed at an individual, or family, place or time. The most interesting of these are attributed to Śrinātha and are still very popular in the Telugu region. He was gifted with keen power of observation and he freely expressed his opinions, bitter as well as complimentary, on all aspects of life around him.

The Kaifiyats are the second category of traditional accounts preserved in the Mackenzie Manuscripts. These and the other Local Records deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai, greatly help us in studying Vijayanagara history.

In the category of traditional accounts are the *Vidyāranya Kālajñāna*, the *Vidyāranya Vrittānta*, *Sivatatravatnākara* and the *Paradāra Sōdara Rāmanā katha*. Especially the Rāmanakatha provides a valuable account of the political conditions of the Deccan in the early part of the fourteenth century and the rise of the Vijayanagara empire. The facts mentioned in it are corroborated to a very surprising extent by the evidence of Fernao Nuniz and Ferishta, the Muhammadan historian of the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkonda.

The usefulness of numismatics as a source of information for the present study is rather limited. The emperors of Vijayanagara issued coins of gold, silver, and copper bearing different emblems indicative of their particular religious affiliations as well as their spirit of toleration. The emperors of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara had strong personal leanings towards Śaivism, the second and third and the fourth dynasties issued coins indicating their affiliation towards Vaishnavism.

The kings of Vijayanagara sanctified their splendid capital city by constructing many temples consecrating different gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. Temples like the Virūpāksha, the Hazāra Rāma, Vitthala, Mālyavanta Raghunātha, Paṭṭabhirāma, Uddāna Virabhadra, Bālakrishṇa, Achyūta Rāya and Ganēśa which stood along side the Muslim monuments like the Muhammadan Watch tower and the Mosque, speak eloquently

religious catholicity of the rulers. One of the tombs at Kaddirāmpura erected in honour of the contemporary Muslim saint, Nūrullā Khādri, proves that the Muslim subjects of the City were allowed full freedom in their religious pursuit.

The contemporary sculptures and paintings constitute yet another source of information for the study of Vijayanagara. As these two were the branches of art, profoundly influenced by the religious beliefs of the people of the time. Many sculptures belonging to different faiths, Śaiva, Vaishnava, and Jaina are found portrayed on the walls and pillars of the temples. Painting as an art received enough encouragement from Vijayanagara kings, their generals and civic officers during the Vijayanagara period. Vijayanagara paintings are found at Hampi, Lēpakshi and Tiruparutti Kunram. Those at Hampi are fairly well preserved. The themes of paintings are drawn from the epics and Śaiva mythology. These paintings also depict the contemporary social life of the Vijayanagara period.

For the present study, essentially all the archaeological evidences such as epigraphs so far published and monuments in Vijayanagara city have been made use of. The literary sources are studied for a better understanding of the city, its layout, geography, social, economic and religious aspects and also for interpretation and filling up of the gaps wherever possible. A field survey has been carried out in this regard. Some

selected photographs of monuments, maps are used in the present study. As a result it has been possible to put the findings together in the following chapters.

Objectives of the Study

1. To know the strategic importance of the physical features for selecting Hampi as Capital
2. To trace the religious factors for the development of Hampi as a City
3. To examine the economic factors responsible for the emergence of Hampi as a City
4. To study the role of royal patronage extended for the promotion of this place
5. To know the development of trade and commerce and industry at this place
6. To know about the cultural developments like: art and architecture, education, growth of literature, etc.

Method of Study

The present study is based on the large number of epigraphical and literary sources both native and foreign. A field survey of the explored archaeological sites and lovely living monuments at Hampi throw sufficient light for this micro level study. The recent reports published by Central and State Archaeological Departments, and other archaeological studies made by

scholars like George Michell, John. M. Fritz, Anna Dellapiccola, Anila Verghese, CTM. Kotraiah and some unpublished works on different aspects of Vijayanagara are used for this micro study.

Review of Studies Made so far

Many works have been written on various aspects of the kingdom are published. A few of the early works such as, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, by Saletore, B.A., 1934, *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration, Volume-1936*, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History* by Nilakanta Sastri, K.A. and Venkata Ramanayya N., 1946., *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagara* by Krishna Swamy. A, 1964, *Administration and Social life Under Vijayanagara* by Mahalingam T.V., 1969 and 75, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* by the same author, *Religion in Vijayanagara Empire* by Konduri Sarojinidevi, 1990, deal with various aspects of Vijayanagara royal dynasties. But only a few works on Hampi have been published, mostly on monuments such as Longhurst's *Hampi Ruins*, 1917, Devakunjari's *Hampi*, 1970 etc. The book by Longhurst is a good account of the monuments as appeared at the beginning of the present century, against the political and cultural history in brief. This indeed readily gives a clear idea, especially to the people abroad about what Hampi was. Later publications such as *Hampi* by Devakunjari etc., are more like guide books, besides one or two books incorporating recent findings in brief. *The*

Masterpieces of Vijayanagara Art, by Rajasekhara S., focuses on an appreciation of the sculptural art of the Vijayanagara by taking the most impressive and colossal idols such as Lakshmīnarasimha, Kadale and Sāsivekālu Ganēśas etc. Similarly the *Vijayanagara Courtly Style* of George Michell discusses the imperial architectural style. *The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara Preliminary Report* of John M. Fritz is a report on the findings of the works through explorations and excavations in the premises of city and the findings there from. *The Hampi-Vijayanagara Vitthala Temple*, of Vasundhara Filliozat, *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara* of Kamble M.T. are evidently scholarly studies of individual magnificent monuments of great merit. Another work, *Select Vijayanagara Temples in Rayalseema* by Kameshwar Rao, 1976, throws light on the temples in Andhra Pradesh.

In the last decades of the 19th century Bruce Foote noticed some important archaeological remains in Hampi-Ānegondi area and reported them in his work. *The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, 1916. These gradually drew the attention of the public and the government to take the site seriously, particularly in relation to the great description of The Vijayanagara capital city as given by foreign travellers in the work – *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900 by Robert Sewell. Finally the Government of India and Government of Karnataka decided to carry out

large-scale archaeological operations in Hampi. The archaeological departments began from 1975 the work of exploration, excavations, conservation of the monuments and publication of the results annually.

Besides, foreign scholars such as John M. Fritz, George Michell, Anna L. Dallapiccola, Dominic J. Davison-Jenkins, as well as Indian scholars such as S. Rajasekhara, Vasundara Filliozat, Anila Verghese, Basavaraja K.R., Kameshwar Rao, Kamble M.T., Channabasappa S. Patil, Kotraiah C.T.M. have studied the monuments at Vijayanagara in great detail. Some of these have been published.

It is proposed to present the study of the topic 'The Vijayanagara Urbanity' under the following chapters:

Chapter I - Introduction :

In this chapter an attempt is made to trace the meaning of urbanization, and the nature, need and scope of the study. The important source materials are mentioned along with the objectives of the study. Research methodology used in this work and review of existing literature and the political history of the Vijayanagara Empire are also dealt with.

Chapter II – The Rise and Growth of the Capital City :

In this chapter both archaeological and literary sources are critically examined to know the factors geographical, administrative, religious, military, educational, intellectual, artistic, economic and commercial factors

that contributed to the rise of capital city. The origin and growth of the Vijayanagara city from pre-Vijayanagara period to its decline is also examined. The progress of the city under successive rulers and temple constructional activities are critically analysed.

Chapter III – Development of Extensions and Suburbs:

In this third chapter an attempt is made to study the historical growth of different extensions and suburbs. This is the highlight of this chapter and forms the significant aspect of the study.

Chapter IV – Administration of the City:

The fourth chapter deals with the administration prevalent of the city. The role of *Pattansvamis* and various works undertaken by the municipal administration are discussed here.

Chapter V – Industries, Trade and Commerce:

In this fifth chapter an attempt is made to trace the role of industries, trade and commerce in making the City rich and prosperous. It also deals with the part played by guilds in the economic life there.

Chapter VI – Social Conditions:

In this sixth chapter a study is made of the different communities like those of priest, warriors, traders, farmers and others settled in the city and their status and style of living.

Chapter VII – Religious Condition:

In this seventh chapter an attempt is made to understand the religious conditions in the city. It deals with the growth and co-existence of Śaivism, Vaishṇavism, Śri-Vaishṇavism, Jainism, Islam and Christianity under the rule of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.

Chapter VIII – Temples in the City:

In this eighth chapter the multi-faceted role of temples is elaborately discussed.

Chapter IX – Secular Structures in the City:

This chapter deals with different secular buildings, which made the city world famous. Different buildings like palaces, platforms, gateways and watch towers are described.

Chapter X – Conclusions:

The last chapter deals with the summary and the conclusions arrived at from the study.

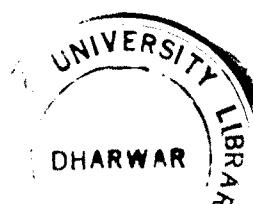
In the Appendix a detailed Bibliography, List of Photographs and Maps have been given.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE RAYAS OF VIJAYANAGARA

SECTION - II

The early decades of the 14th century witnessed great changes in the history of South India in general and Karnataka in particular. The Hindu kingdoms of South India were repeatedly attacked by the Delhi Sultan and as a result there ruling dynasties of South India like the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra, Kākatiyas of Wārangal, Seunas of Dēvagiri, Pāndyas of Madhurai and the rulers of Kampli became weak and declined. At this juncture, there came to the forefront an entirely new family called the Sangama dynasty, which laid the foundation of a new political power called the Vijayanagara Empire. It successfully halted the expansion of the power of the Delhi rule in South India.

Vijayanagara, a medieval City situated on the southern bank of Tungabhadra, was their capital. In course of a few years, the city earned the reputation of being called the 'City of Victory' or Vijayanagara. Very soon it developed into an imperial City of huge dimensions in size, beauty and wealth. Hence, it became a centre of attraction to different people from far and near. From there the rulers of the four dynasties like, the Sangama (AD 1336-1485), the Sāluva (AD 1485-1505), the Tuluva (AD 1505-1570) and the Āravīdu (AD 1570-1660) ruled.



The Sangama dynasty ruled from AD 1336-1485. Some of the important rulers of this dynasty were Harihara I, Bukkarāya I, Harihara II, Dēvarāya I, Dēvarāya II, Virūpāksha III were the rulers of Sangama dynasty, which ruled from A.D. 1336-1485. Harihara I (AD 1336-1356) was a distinguished warrior and a great organiser. The credit of liberating South India from the Muslim domination goes to him. He defeated the Bahamani rulers and built Hampi, surrounded by ranges of hills on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. Harihara accepted the challenge of the times and rose to the occasion. He started on this bold venture by consolidating his position, power and mobilising on resources in the region around Hampi. Tradition relating to this site goes back to ancient times associating it with Kishkindha of the Rāmā�ana period. It is mentioned as 'Pāmpāthīrtha' in a copper plate of the seventh century AD. It is called 'Pāmpapura' in the records of the eleventh century AD, and god Virūpāksha is referred to as its presiding deity. In AD 1343 Harihara I bore the title *Mahārājādhīrāja*, indicative of his sovereignty. Then he moved with his four brothers to Śringēri in AD 1346 to commemorate his glorious victories. He ruled successfully with the help of his brothers, Kampanṇa, Bukkāṇa, Muddappa and Mārappa.

Bukka I succeeded Harihara I and ruled for twenty-two years from AD 1356 to 1377. As a co-regent he was closely associated with his brother and had sometimes issued royal charter under his own name. He

consolidated and strengthened the empire. He defeated the Bahamani Sultans and his chivalrous son, Kumāra Kampana defeated the chiefs of the Sambuvarāya family, ruling in the north and south Arcot districts of Tamil Nadu. During his period the rulers of Bahamani pursued a policy of expansion and attacked upon the Vijayanagara territory. Bukka I entered into an alliance with Vināyakadevā, the grandson of Pratāparudra II of Wārangal, and demanded Muhammad Shah I to vacate the occupied territory. Enraged by this demand the Bahamani ruler invaded Wārangal thrice and plundered the city murdering Vināyakadevā.

Kumāra Kampana also defeated the Sultan of Madhurai, Mubarak Shah, and established an orderly government in the conquered provinces and revived religious ceremonies in temples. In this expedition Kumāra Kampana was assisted by his able generals viz., Sāluva Mangu, Sōmayya Dandanāyaka, Vittappa and Gōpana. But it is said that Sāluva Mangu was killed by the Sultan. This Southern campaign is graphically described in *Madhurāvijayam* written by princess Gangādēvi, wife of Kampana. By AD 1371, the whole of Madhurai region became a part and parcel of the Vijayanagara empire, and Kampana began to administer the Tamil country as the Viceroy of Vijayanagara.

In the midst of these invasions, Bukka I was able to devote himself to the constructive works. The capital city of Vijayanagara was extended.

Massive fortifications and magnificent public and private buildings were built. He administered very well Princes of the royal family and trustworthy officers were appointed as governors of the different parts of the empire. His empire stretched over the entire southern peninsula from the Krishṇa to Rāmēshwaram. The king of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and the chiefs of neighbouring states paid tributes and sent their envoys to the Vijayanagara court. Bukka I was a remarkable man in many ways, and was known for his secular attitude. He preached tolerance and maintained religious harmony. This is best illustrated in an inscription dated AD 1368, at Sravanabelgola, which records a dispute between the Jains and Srivaishṇavas. Bukka gave the judgement to the effect that people following different religions should work in close co-operation and safeguard the interests of one another.

On account of his liberal patronage for the compilation of the commentaries on the entire Vedic texts Bukka I earned the title '*Vaidika mārga Pravarthaka*'. Under him Kannada literature received impetus and it was enriched by Vīraśaiva, Jaina and other authors. Thus, Bukka's reign inaugurated an era of national uplift and cultural regeneration in the fields of religion, literature, learning, art and architecture.

Bukka I was succeeded by his son Harihara II. He ruled from (AD 1377 to AD 1404). There were a few minor local disturbances. They were suppressed by his grown up sons, Bukka II, Virūpāksha and Dēvarāya

I, who governed the major provinces of the empire. Virūpāksha led an expedition against Sri Lanka and made its king to pay tribute to Vijayanagara. The Bahmani Sultans, Muhammad Shah II and his successor Firoz Shah attacked Vijayanagara twice, but there was neither gain nor loss by these attacks on either side. Harihara II was ably assisted by the competent ministers, generals and other officers of the state in promoting the administrative efficiency and constructive works for the welfare of the subjects. Great facilities were provided for improving agricultural and commercial developments. Irrigational facilities were increased by digging canals and constructing tanks. Cultural activities continued to receive encouragement. During his period Kannada, Sanskrit literature flourished as they were nourished by the writers of Jaina, Vīraśaiva and other scholars. As a mark of his love for Kannada, Harihara I was accorded the title '*Karnātaka-Vidyā Vilāsa*'. He died in AD 1404. For two years there was a disturbance for succession among his sons. Ultimately Dēvarāya I assumed the power in AD 1406, and ruled up to AD 1422.

Dēvarāya I was a strong and resourceful monarch. Who followed in the footsteps of his father. He was involved in two wars with Bahmani Sultan Firoz Shah. In the first war, he took the offensive step and his attempt to take the fort of Mudugal failed and ended in his capture. The Shah in retaliation annexed the strategic fort of Bankapur. The second war which

was a contest for supremacy in the Andhra region lasted for four years from AD 1415 to 1419. But Dēvarāya I succeeded in defeating the Bahmani ruler and capturing the strong fort of Pānagal. As a result of this war, the Krishnā-Tungabhadra territory was brought under the sway of Vijayanagara.

Among the constructive activities of Dēvarāya I, works like the development of the capital city, its fortification, and construction of artistic buildings there enriched the beauty of Vijaynagara. He erected a huge dam near Hosapēte across the Tungabhadra, and provided water facility both for agriculture and drinking purposes. Another irrigational dam was constructed across the Haridra near Harihara. He died in AD 1422. The next important ruler of this dynasty was Devaraya II.

Dēvarāya II ruled from AD 1424-46. This period is considered as a period of great prosperity and cultural development in the annals of Vijayanagara. Soon after his accession to the throne the Gajapati rulers were growing in power in the northeastern part of Vijayanagara empire. The Reddis of Andhra and the rulers of Kondavīdu were creating political disturbances. Hence, Dēvarāya II launched formidable offensive war against Gajapathis and finally the region of Kondavīdu was annexed to the Vijayanagara empire. Again in AD 1436 Kapilēndra IV threatened Rājamahendri but he was defeated by the Reddis with the help of Dēvarāya II.

In AD 1435-36 a battle broke out between the rulers of Vijayanagara and Bahmani over the possession of Mudgal and Raichur in the Doab region. Ahmed Shah, the Bahmani Sultan was defeated by the Vijayanagara ruler. Again there was a conflict between the two armies in AD 1443-44. This time also Vijayanagara soldiers defended successfully their position.

Lakkanna Dandanayaka, a resourceful general of Dēvarāya II led a naval expedition to Sri Lanka. This campaign was successful, and the ruler of Sri Lanka was forced to pay tribute annually. Again in AD 1443 Kapilēndra, the ambitious Gajapati ruler attacked the Reddy kingdom of Kondavīdu. Dēvarāya II by his timely help rescued the Reddy kingdom from this danger. Thus, Dēvarāya II extended the Vijayanagara empire in all directions.

By reorganising the Vijayanagara army, he increased the fighting capacity. It was during this time that Abdur Razak, a Persian visited the Vijayanagara empire. The Vijayanagara had grown in its proportions and attained remarkable grandeur. The Vijayanagara court was adorned with distinguished nobles, courtiers, officers, scholars, artists and envoys of different countries. Ponnaladēvi and Bhimadēvi were the queens of Dēvarāya II. He gave liberal patronage to Vīraśaivism. He was succeeded by his sons, Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha III one after the other.

In AD 1485, the Sāluva dynasty came to power. Narasimha I AD 1485-1491 and Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka from AD 1491 to 1503 were the distinguished rulers of this dynasty. Narasa Nāyaka defeated Ummattur chiefs, Bahmani Sultans and also Gajapati Pratāparudra. It was during his time the Portuguese developed political relationship with the Vijayanagara rulers by establishing their trading centre at Bhatkal.

The Sāluva dynasty was succeeded by the Tuluva dynasty, which ruled from AD 1505-70. Krishnadēvaraya was a distinguished ruler of the Vijayanagara empire. His period witnessed the zenith of excellence in all the spheres of activity like political, military, social economic, artistic, architectural, religious and literary. Under him the prosperity and military might of the empire reached its highest water mark.

Krishnadēvarāya succeeded his brother, Vīra Narasimha. On the eve of his accession the political condition of the empire was far from satisfactory. The Gajapati ruler Prataprudra continued to occupy Udayagiri and Kondavidu. The Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur was trying to expand his territories. The Bahmani Sultan Mohammed Shah also resumed his invasions upon Vijayanagara. Thus, the problems of the empire were challenging and demanded a great courage and resourcefulness on the part of Vijayanagara ruler. Krishnadēvaraya helped the Portuguese in capturing Calicut, from the Zamorin and Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur. They also

got permission from the emperor to build a port at Bhatkal. The Portuguese in turn supplied good horses to the Vijayanagara army.

Krishnadevaraya defeated the Sultans of Bahmani and Bijapur. After defeating Gangaraja, the chief of Ummattur, Krishnadevaraya captured the forts at Shivanasamudram and Srirangapattana. Gajapati, the ruler of Udayagiri was defeated. To mark his victory over Udayagiri he brought the idol of Bālakrishna as a war trophy to the capital and built a temple for it. He captured many forts in Andhra Pradesh. In commemoration of his victory over the Andhra region he erected a Pillar of Victory at Potnur.

Krishnadevaraya also helped Mohammad Shah II of Gulbarga to get back his throne and also intervened in the affairs of Sri Lanka. Further, he also succeeded in reinstalling Bhuvanaikabāhu on the Sri Lanka throne. Krishnadevaraya thus emerged as the most powerful monarch and expanded the boundaries of the empire on the northern side by regaining the lost provinces from Mohammadans. His empire extended from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin in the south. Prosperity of the empire and welfare of the subjects were the two prime objects for which he worked for most. He was liberal in his attitude towards the people of different faiths. He was a great patron of literature. The famous *Ashtadiggajas* adorned his royal court, Bhuvanavijaya. He himself was a great scholar and wrote *Amuktamālyada* in Telugu and *Jāmbuvathi Kalyāṇam* in Sanskrit. He was also a great builder

of temples. Though he was a Vaishnava, Krishnadevaraya gave equal patronage to all the religions. The Portuguese chroniclers, Durate Barbosa and Domingo Paes, visited empire and recorded many interesting details about him and the capital city.

Krishnadevaraya was succeeded by his brother Achyutadēvarāya, who ruled from AD 1529-42. He was a capable military leader and defeated the Gajapatis and protected Konḍavidu from Qutub Shaha's attack. He appointed Vishwanātha Nāyaka as the ruler of the Pāndya kingdom at Madurai. He maintained the diplomatic relationship with the Portuguese. He made liberal grants to Brahmins and temples. He was succeeded by Sadāshivarāya, the son of Sri Rangarāya, who was the brother of Achyutadēvaraya. Aliya Rāmaraya played an important role in placing Sadāshivarāya on the Vijayanagara throne. Hence, taking advantage of political situation and minority rule of Sadāshivarāya. Rāmarāya assumed full powers and looked after the affairs of the empire.

Rāmarāya's administration can be studied in two parts. The first part is from AD 1543-1550 in which he administered as an agent of the emperor. In the second part Rāmarāya assumed all powers and ruled the empire as a defacto ruler from AD 1551-1565. During this period Rāmarāya concentrated all powers in his hands by bringing about certain major administrative changes. He terminated the services of many hereditary loyal

men. Admission of Muslims in large number in the Vijayanagara army was another important measure introduced by Rāmarāya. This enabled the Muslims to acquire an intimate knowledge of the empire. Besides these, he also changed the traditional policy of Vijayanagara towards the Bahmani Sultans. He entangled himself in the interstate policies of the Muslim Sultans and appointed his own brothers Tirumala and Venkatadri as minister and commander of the army respectively. He did not continue the traditional relationship with the Portuguese. Rāmaraya's policy towards the Bahmani Sultans enraged them. Frequently he was changing his support to Sultans and putting one Sultan against the other. Ultimately all the Bahmani Sultans decided to fight unitedly against Rāmaraya and gave a battle at Talikota in the month of January, 1565. In this historic battle Vijayanagara army under Rāmaraya was badly defeated by the Sultans. This defeat caused irreparable damage to the might of the Vijayanagara empire. Later Muslim soldiers systematically plundered and destroyed the capital city.

The Aravidus continued to rule over the remaining parts of the Vijayanagara empire from Andhra Pradesh from Penugonda, Chandragiri earlier and Vellore later. The important rulers of this dynasty were Tirumala (AD 1570-78), Venkatapathi I, Rāmadēva II and Sri Rangarāya IV. Sri Ranga, the last ruler was betrayed by his feudatories he lost the hopes of

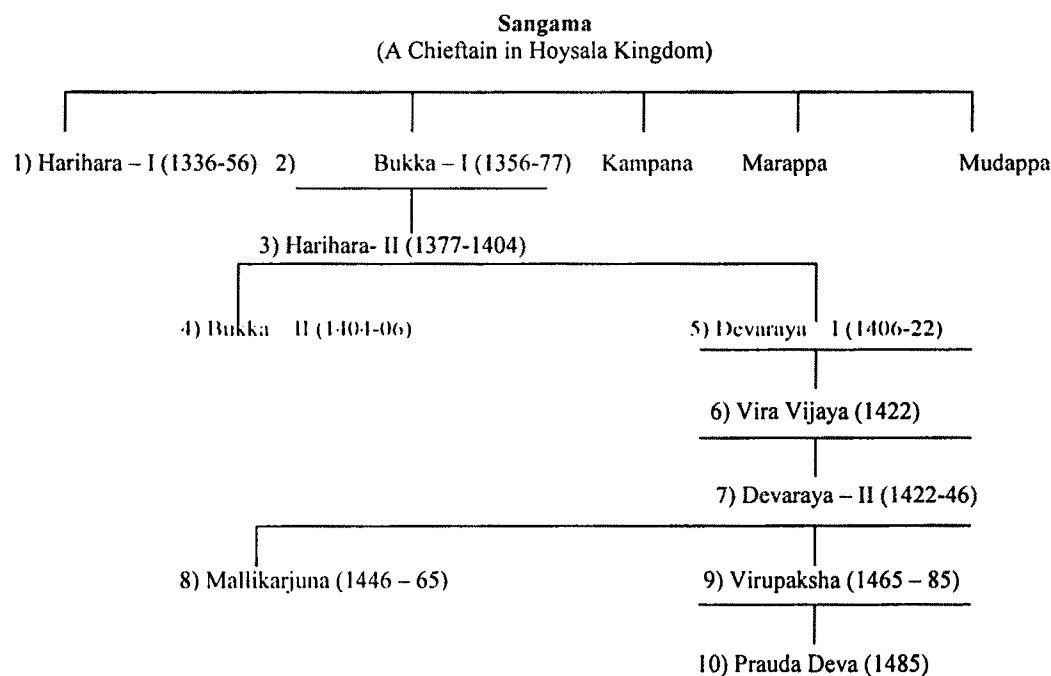
continuing the rule and he died in AD 1681. Thus, ended the rule of the Aravidu dynasty.

The achievements of Vijayanagara are worthy of recounting. It was to the credit of this empire that it held the whole of South India as one unit and acted as a bulwark against the invasions and aggressions of the times from the Muslim invaders. It stood for traditional values. The kings were deeply religious and maintained a secular policy and helped the growth of contemporary religions indigenous and foreign. Vijayanagara had active diplomatic and commercial relations with many countries in the east, and west as well. The city of Vijayanagara was the nerve centre of all activities, both political and cultural. Endowed with a love for fine arts, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara patronised art, architecture and literature. Structures command the admiration of the people even today in the midst of ruins. The Vijayanagara City dazzled the foreign visitors. They have left behind their accounts which bear eloquent testimony to its prosperity and urbanity.

The Vijayanagara kings ruled in accordance with the Dharma, providing facilities which made the life of the common man, including the minorities, happy and prosperous. Vijayanagara as a political unit disappeared but as a great cultural entity it is very much living in the hearts of the people of this part of the country. Vijayanagara has thus become immemorial.

Genealogy of Vijayanagara Emperors

a) Sangama Dynasty (1336-1485)

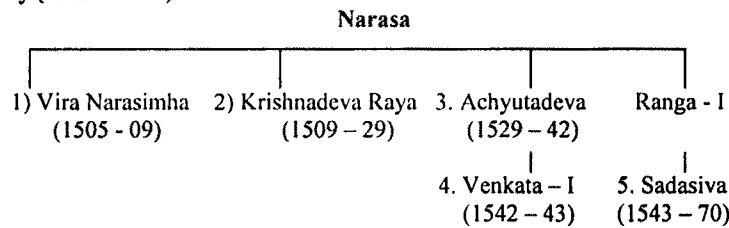


b) Saluva Dynasty (1485 – 1505)

1) Saluva Narasimha (1485 – 90)
(Chief of Chandragiri and Minister of Last Sangama Ruler)

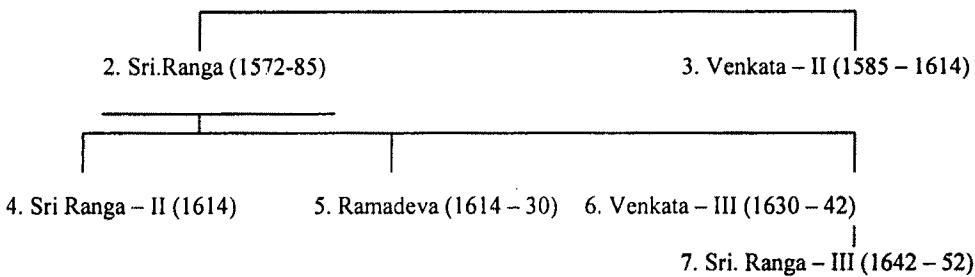


c) Tuluva Dynasty (1505 – 1570)

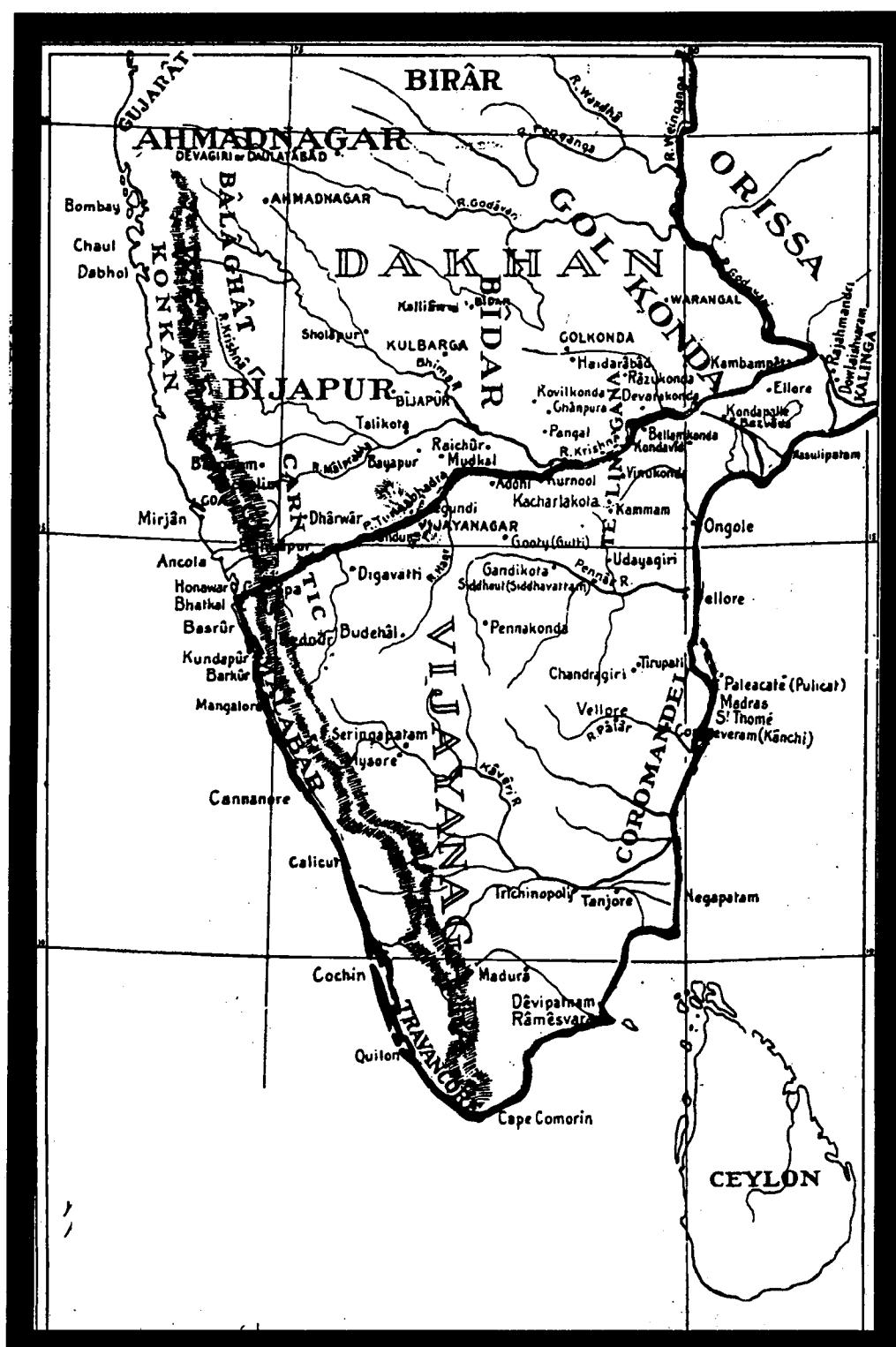


d) Aravidu Dynasty (1570 – 1632)

1. Tirumala (1570 – 71)
(Penugonda as his Capital)



VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE



CHAPTER II

RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CAPITAL CITY

SECTION I : FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF THE CAPITAL CITY

Vijayanagara was a celebrated name in the history of South India. In the medieval times glory of the Vijayanagara empire glow brilliantly. In medieval times trade and commerce, other economic activities like industries flourished and played an important role in the rise and growth of cities and towns. The city Vijayanagara emerged as capital city and became a centre of various religious sects, centre of trade and commerce and of artistic and cultural activities. As it was the capital city Vijayanagara became a champion of Hindu culture.

As the capital of a vast empire, covering a large part of South India, Vijayanagar was inhabited by diverse people from different provinces. A large population settled down in the capital to serve in the king's court, in military and in temples. The multi-ethnic composition of the Vijayanagar city manifested in the growth of a variety of languages, social customs and religious beliefs, which replicated in microcosmic form of those of the whole empire. This diversity to some extent was increased by the inclusion of Muslims, who were employed in the royal cavalry.

The location of the city on the right bank of the river Tungabhadra, surrounded by hillocks, facilitated the rulers to build beautiful and large temples of Saiva and Vaishnava faiths. The existence of monolithic big statues converted this place into a holy religious centre. Thus, patronage extended by the rulers of Vijayanagara empire enabled the gradual growth and development of the city. Festivals and religious rituals received more scope and they were celebrated as state festivals rather than merely public

functions. In fact the rulers of Vijayanagara empire opened a new era of celebrating festivals in a grand manner in Karnataka.

Many factors, like geographical, administrative, economic, commercial, religious, military, intellectual, artistic, educational and others, played an important role in the growth and sustenance of the Vijayanagara city and also other towns. These factors influenced urbanization process in the Vijayanagara city in particular and towns and cities in the empire in general.

Geographical and Administrative Factors:

In the historical times the big towns usually developed on the banks of rivers or on sea coast. The vicinity of a river was considered as a natural fortification besides serving as a means of transport and water resource. The site selected for the new capital on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra was remarkable. In one of the epigraphs it is described that its rampart was *Hēmakūṭa*, its moat was the auspicious Thungabhadra, its guardian was the world protector Lord *Virūpāksha* its ruler was the great king of king's, *Harihara*.¹

In ancient Karnataka the rulers of various dynasties maintained good administration and divided the kingdom into districts, taluks and villages for the better management of the kingdom. The founders of Vijayanagara who were earlier in the service of Hoysala empire, more or less continued the same traditions. They selected Vijayanagara (Hampi) as their capital for its geographical and strategic importance. The five hills like *Hēmakūṭa*, *Matanga Parvata*, *Kishkindha*, *Mālyavanta* and *Rishyamukha* provided protection and acted like a natural fort. Domingos Paes also noticed

¹ Hayavadana Rao – Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.II, Pt.III, p.1416

particularly the geographical location of the city which he admired in his accounts.

The perennial flow of the river Tungabhadra also attracted the attention of Vijayanagara rulers to make this place as their capital city. The common features of any capital city were the existence of massive palatial buildings, beautiful residential structures, broad and long running streets, huge temples and fort. They reveal that the capital was the place where kings resided with their royal family, army, treasury, council of ministers and constructed temples for the worship of family deities. Their capital city was the centre of administrative activities. All the members of the council of ministers, officers of the military, and treasury of the empire were provided with quarters in the royal enclosure. To assist these people professionals like carpenter, artisans, priests, weavers, masons, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, potmakers, merchants, traders, oil pressers, washermen, barbers and others came and settled in the capital city. It was the duty of the king to provide good drinking water, roads, markets, residential houses and other civic amenities. Good facilities of the capital city attracted people of surrounding villages to migrate and settle there. As it was the capital city there was much scope for employment.

Thus, the city was the congregation of different communities and generally the rulers built various temples and religious institutions dedicated to Saivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Islam. The people of the Vijayanagara city were very religious minded and they celebrated religious rituals and festivals like *Mahānavami*, Car Festival, *Vasant Mahōtsava*, Float Festival, *Makarasankrathi*, *Ugādi*, *Dīpāvali*, *Hanuma Jayanthi*, *Narasimha Jayanthi*, *Rāmanavami*, *Uyyale* and *Mahāshivarāthri* and others. The liberal donations given by the rulers at the time of their coronation for different festivals popularized the religious ceremonies. Common people

also involved themselves in the religious activities whole-heartedly. Besides priestly class, the communities like *gānigar* (Oil pressers), *totiga*, *panchālas*, *kaikolars*, were associated with the temple, and along with other servants they lived in the city.

Even though Vijayanagara was the capital, king could not concentrate all his attention on the administration of the town only. So, as in ancient Karnataka even during medieval period also there was a separate establishment for the administration of the town. The administrator of the town was called *Pattanaswāmi*, *Mahavaddavyavahari*, *Vadda-byavahari*, *Ubhaya-nānādēsi*, *Setti*, *Swāmi*, *Setti Pattanaswami* etc.¹ The administrator provided for the civic amenities to the people and paid taxes in return for the civic services they received.²

To protect the people, animals and treasury the rulers built a citadel around the city. This was an age old measure followed by kings since time immemorial. Thus, all these factors were responsible for the growth of the capital city. In this way administrative factor played an important role in the emergence of Vijayanagara city.

Economic Factor:

Vijayanagara city was a conglomeration of a huge population. To supply the day to day necessities of the people like clothes, oil, metals, leather goods and weapons for the royal military, agricultural implements to the surrounding villages, weavers and artisans like blacksmiths, carpenters and other skilled craftsmen settled and established industries in the city. People of this period were very fond of gold and silver ornaments. So, jewellery developed as an important industry in the city. Agriculture was the

¹ Venkataratnam A.V. – Local Government in the Vijayanagara Empire – Mysore, P.III

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.573

main occupation of the empire and the cities were the main centres of trade and commerce for agricultural produce. Agricultural requirements like bullock-carts, plough-shares, axes, iron tyres for wheels, iron bullock-shoes, sickle, crowbars etc., were manufactured by artisans and craftsmen in the city.

Commercial Factor:

Farmers brought their agricultural products for sale to the city. As such the growth of the city depended largely on the number of surrounding villages. As there was no other big city near Vijayanagara emerged as an important commercial centre. The other commercial centres like Goa, Annigeri, Belgaum, Aihole, Bādāmi, Raichur, Mudugal, Bijapur, Bankāpura, Dwārasamudra, Ikkēri, Adōni, Penugonda etc. were far away from the capital city of Vijayanagara. This encouraged the farmers to live around the Vijayanagara city to have trade and commercial contact with the Vijayanagara. Important crops like paddy, millet, cotton, jowar, oilseeds, pulses, wheat, vegetables were the main items of internal trade.

Trade and market played a crucial role in the development of Vijayanagara city. The prosperity of a country depends largely on its trade. The writings of the foreigners who visited South India, particularly Vijayanagara city give some glimpses of its vigorous trade in those days. According to Paes the city of Vijayanagara was the meeting place of traders of the world. In this city you could find men belonging to different nations because of its great trade.¹

The celebration of periodical fairs and festivals in the capital contributed to the growth of trade in the capital. The articles of inland trade were many and were generally sold in the different bazars of the city. A fair

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, New Delhi, 1987, p.256

was held every Friday in a certain part of Vijayanagara city.¹ An epigraph reveals that at Krishnāpura a weekly market was held on every Monday and in the same manner at Achyutāpura every Tuesday market was held.² These fairs undoubtedly added to the material prosperity of the people and the capital. Thus, one notices the important role played by trade and commerce in transforming Vijayanagara as a great urban centre in medieval times.

Further the growth of trade and commerce encouraged the merchants to form guilds. This traditional institution boosted the commercial activities systematically. Some of the important guilds were those of the *vīrapanchalas*, weavers, potters, clothdyers, oilmillers, tailors, washermen, barbers and a few others.³ The *Amuktamālyadā* refers to the guilds of weavers, goldsmiths, weavers of silk cloth, *kōmatis*, *vaijatis*, gunny-bag makers, basket makers etc.⁴ Besides, there was a guild of the manufacturers of salt (*Uppāraru*). Salt which was produced at the coastal region was supplied to Vijayanagara city by the salt manufacturers or through the guild. Thus, the internal trade of the empire brought about good contacts among the merchants of the empire. Through the coastal commercial centres, the external trade was carried out. The foreign merchants brought horses and elephants, which were used widely in the royal military. Especially to the Vijayanagara empire, horses were supplied regularly by the Portuguese traders. From the Malnad region of Karnataka sandal was exported to the foreign countries where the demand for its best quality oil was great and merchants of that region supplied the sandal oil to the capital, which was

¹ Ibid.

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.266

³ E.I. XX, p.90

⁴ Amuktamalyada – Canto IV, V, 35

used mainly in the religious rituals. Thus, the local and the internal trade helped the development of the capital town as an important commercial centre.

Religious Factor:

As in ancient Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period also religion and religious ceremonies occupied an important place in the social life of the people. The very object of the foundation of the Vijayanagara was to preserve Hindu religion, traditions and culture from the onslaughts of Muslim invasions. This made the founders to give more attention to maintain and strengthen the social order and religious activities in the land and the capital city. Especially, the Brahmins performed a number of rituals and ceremonies. They assisted and advised the king and the public in all the religious matters. The practices of rites observed from womb to tomb, continued even after the departure of soul. All the festivals were celebrated under the direct supervision of priestly class.

Religions like Śaivism, Vaishṇavism and Jainism received royal patronage. Hence, the temples of these faiths were raised and came up in the Vijayanagara city. In the medieval period for the first time peace and prosperity prevailed in the empire. The Vijayanagara rulers started a new style of temple construction in their empire. Huge complexes, high walls, sub-shrines appeared in temple premises eg. Virūpāksha, Vitthala, Bālakrishṇa, Hazara Rāma and Pattabhi Rāma temples. To commemorate the coronation ceremony and their victories the rulers like Praudhadēvaraya II, Krishṇadēvaraya and Achyutadēvarāya built temples and added new enclosures to the already existing temples. Krishṇadēvaraya, to commemorate his victory over Udayagiri built Bālakrishna temple and installed the idol of Bālakrishṇa there which he had brought from

Udayagiri.¹ To construct big temples a large number of sculptors, masons and architects were engaged continuously. Transportation of big boulders and stones was the regular scene in the Vijayanagara city. The monolithic huge statues of Yōgalakshmi Narasimha, Ganēshas, Sivalinga, reveal a new style of image worship in the open space.

Temple culture played a crucial role in developing capital city. The big temples of the city acted themselves as an important employment agency, next only to the state supporting a considerable number of priests, clerks, artisans and labourers, who otherwise would have remained unemployed. The pilgrimage centres also played an important role in the development of Vijayanagara city. As a centre of worship temples attracted number of pilgrims. The temples of the patron deity Virūpāksha at Hampi greatly helped the development of the city of Vijayanagara. Besides temples, superb monuments like the Lotus Mahal, Queen's Bath, Stone Chariot, *Mahānavamidibba*, decorated Stepped tank and different platforms built for performing various functions at the time of *Dāsara* festivals reveal that the rulers of Vijayanagara extended liberal patronage to the architects to beautify the medieval Hindu capital city of South India.

Military Factor:

In the middle of the 14th century after the establishment of the Vijayanagara empire, the Bahmani kingdom was founded at Gulburga as a keen contender for the political supremacy in the South. Particularly Raichur doab was the bone of contention between the two powers. This continuous conflict forced the Vijayanagara rulers to adopt more defensive measures. So, for the first time in Karnataka watch towers were built by the Hindu rulers. The existence of watch towers near Lotus Mahal and Noble's Quarter

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.254

reveal that there was a continuous threat by the Bahmani rulers. Vijayanagara rulers also constructed huge storage buildings for protecting arms and ammunitions. As such a number of soldiers and military leaders settled at the city. Thus, the city attained its strategic importance and the rulers constructed the citadels, strong outer wall fortifications, guard rooms and elephant stables. Abdur Razzak observes that the city was built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclosed each other.¹ And he also writes that in this city there were as many as ninety thousand men fit to bear arms.² Even today remains of the defence measures can be seen in and around the Vijayanagara city from the engineering point of view. Watch towers, gateways and gate houses were built to maintain the security of the capital city. In South India Vijayanagara empire was the biggest, which extended in the present states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Orissa. Naturally to meet the requirements of the time, rulers like Dévarāya II, Krishṇadēvarāya, Rāmāraẏa, employed and maintained huge armies, consisting of all communities. Thus, all these military factors played an important role in developing Vijayanagara as a metropolitan city.

Intellectual Factor:

By medieval times, education had attained its maturity. In ancient Karnataka temples and agraharas played an important role in imparting the education. The Vijayanagara empire included regions where Kannada, Telugu, Sanskrit and Tamil literature were produced in those languages. Kings like Dévarāya II, Krishṇadēvaraya and princesses like Gangādēvi, Varadāmbika, Mohanāngi wrote scholarly works in Sanskrit and Telugu.

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.88

² Ibid. p.82

This attitude of the members of the royal family attracted the scholars to the capital city and contributed to the enrichment of literature. Scholars from various parts flocked to the Vijayanagara city's royal court to win the recognition from the Rayas by giving challenges to the court pandits and scholars at philosophical and literary disputations. Krishnadēvarāya himself was a scholar, musician and poet. He loved to gather around him poets, philosophers and religious teachers, whom he honoured with munificent gifts of land and money.¹ He was so much attached to the company of learned men that he spent most of his spare time, when he was at the capital in hearing their learned discourses and discussions. He reserved his noons for the philosophers.² To encourage scholars, kings like Devaraya II, Krishnadēvarāya, Achyūtadēvarāya and Rāmarāya gave liberal donations and grants for their maintenance. This patronage attracted scholars of different regions to come and settle in the capital city. Thus, the intellectual factor was also responsible for the growth and development of Vijayanagara Urbanization.

Fine Arts Factor:

Vijayanagara rulers extended wholehearted support to the development of fine arts, like music, art, and dance by patronising many versatile artistes. Singers, musicians, and dancers were the important members of the royal court. Perhaps never before in the history of South India, dancing was held in so high esteem as it was during the Vijayanagara times. Inscriptions of Vijayanagara highlight the social status of the temple girls and dancers appointed by the king himself.

¹ Venkata Ramanayya – Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara Empire, p.240

² Madhao P. Patil – Court Life Under the Vijayanagara Rulers, p.180

Temples of the Vijayanagara city were the training centres for dancers. Expert dancers trained in such centres were sent to the famous temples of South India to perform dance there. During the period of Achyūtadēvarāya dancing girls were sent to serve in Lord Venkātēshwara temple at Tirupati. Attracted by the liberal patronage of the Rayas many dancers, singers, musicians and others who were interested in fine arts came to Vijayanagara city seeking the support and royal encouragement. Thus, the city became an important centre of cultural activities.

Educational Factor:

Imparting education to the subjects was the main duty of the king. As it was in ancient Karnataka even in the medieval period temples were the centres of education. Encouragement was given by the kings of Vijayanagara through the construction of huge temples, and also *Agrahāras* like Krishnāpura,¹ Nāgaladēvipura,² Nelalahunise³ and Kumaragiri.⁴ *Mōhanatarangini* of Kanakadāsa reveals that they were imparting education in subjects like: Āgamas, Vēdas, Vēdanta, Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Ayurvēda, Astrology, Vyākaraṇa, Ganita, languages and polity, Kavya, Nātaka and Music in these *Agrahāras*.

Rayas like Dēvarāya II, Krishnadēvaraya and Achyūtadēvaraya made liberal grants of lands to the Brahmins of these *Agraharas* for their services rendered to education. An epigraph found at Bālakrishna temple dated AD 1515,⁵ reveals that Krishnadēvarāya assigned a large area to the Brahmins for their various services rendered in the Balakrishna temple. To these Brahmins, lands including Krishnapura area were given to them.

¹ ARSIE of 1935-36, No.337

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.504

³ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.553, S.I.I. Vol.XVII, No.26

⁵ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

Krishnadēvarāya was also responsible for the establishment of Nāgaladevipura Agraḥara, named after his mother Nāgaladevi. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1516 Krishnadēvarāya granted a manya village to the Brahmin priest Ranganātha Dīkshita who in turn gave shares to other Brahmins. In turn for the merit of the king's mother the priest there constructed a tank called Nāgasamudra and the temples of Nageśvara and Nāgēndrasayana. Another inscription dated A.D. 1540 of Achyutarāya mentions about *Nelalahuṇiseya Agraḥara*, which was situated to the east of Viṭṭhalapura. The priests serving in the Balakrishṇa temple were settled here. They had received grants even by the predecessor king Krishnadēvarāya. An epigraph dated A.D. 1455 found at Kapilasrama states that king Dēvarāya II donated a village to God Saumya Sōmesvara of Sōmalapura situated near *Kumāragiri Agraḥāra* on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra.¹ In this way Vaishnava temples and *Agraḥaras* promoted Vedic education.

Vijayanagara rulers by giving shelter to the great scholars encouraged education. Often there were intellectual discussions in the royal court and if they pleased the rulers, they were rewarded with costly garments, jewels, palanquins, horses and even they were granted tax-free lands. Besides these, *Viṭṭasaiva Mathas* also played an important role in imparting education. Even before the establishment of the Vijayanagara empire, Hampi was known for Saiva education.² The ascetics experts in *puranas* were appointed as teachers. The Virūpaksha temple was one of the important centres of Saiva education. During Dēvarāya II Saiva religion received great patronage. The *mathas* attached to temples provided lodging and boarding facilities to teachers and students. There were arrangements to feed

¹ A.R.No.24 of 1903

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.260

Brahmins in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi.¹ An epigraph of the reign of Dēvaraya II dated A.D. 1430 refers to the *Kallumatha* of Hampi which is now known as Sri *Kotturuswami matha*, as a famous education centre. It consists of a big hall, a verandah, a few rooms and a kitchen. The famous Vīrasaiva poet Virūpāksha Pandita wrote *Channabasavapurāṇa* in A.D. 1585 and was the head of the *Hiriya-matha* in Vidyānagara.² Thus, education attracted both scholars and students from different parts of the empire and led to the growth of the Vijayanagara city.

Other Factors:

The greatness of the Vijayanagara empire spread in different parts of the world. The splendid and magnificent monuments, the celebrations of festivals, and other cultural activities attracted foreign visitors from Persia, Portugal, Italy, Russia and the Arab world. They not only visited the Vijayanagara but also settled there for sometime in order to study the socio-cultural life of the people. They have given valuable travel accounts which throw flood of light on various aspects of the city and the empire. This shows that the name and fame of Vijayanagara city had spread not only in Asia but also in Europe.

From these travel accounts of merchants from Persia, Portugal, China the development of trade and commerce of the Vijayanagara empire can be understood. The Portuguese and Arab merchants supplied horses required for the army. Spices were exported to European markets from the Western Coast of India. Thus, the flourishing trade and commerce enriched the socio-economic conditions of the empire and helped the people to improve their life style.

¹ Ibid.

² Narasimhacharya R. – Karnataka Kavicharite, Pt.II, pp.258-259

Agriculture, small scale industries, handicrafts were the main occupations of the people. Hence, agriculturists, agricultural labourers, industrial labourers, artisans, merchants, traders and transporting labours made the capital city metropolitan in character. Other communities also settled in the town to serve the elite class of the society. Thus, the other factors also played an important role in the development of the city. The Vijayanagara city was not only a seat of political power, but also a great centre of trade, commerce, industry, religion, education as well as social activities. All these factors contributed to make the Vijayanagara city a great Urban centre and facilitated further the urbanization process in the vast empire.

SECTION II:GENESIS AND GROWTH OF CAPITAL CITY

Vijayanagara, the 'City of Victory' was the capital of the last great Hindu empire of South India founded by the two Sangama brothers in the first half of the fourteenth century A.D. The city was spread over an area of more than 25 Sq. Km. The archaeological evidence shows how Vijayanagara rulers extended the city in all directions and what made this city to become the greatest of all Hindu medieval capitals in India. Geographical features, strategic location and sacredness of the place must have led the Sangama brothers to choose this place as capital city of their kingdom. The Tungabhadra river also played an important role in concentrating all the settlements around.

There are three legends regarding the origin and establishment of the city. An inscription found at Bāgepalli in Kolar District records¹ the following legend : Harihara was ruling over Kunjarakonapuri (Ānegondi). Once he crossed the river Tungabhadra for hunting and saw the forest a south of the river. In the forest he saw a dog with long teeth, being chased and bitten by a hare. This astonishing scene made him to understand that this was the place of valour and holiness. Later he visited the temple of god Virūpāksha and goddess Pampa there and paid respect to them. He narrated

¹ E.C. X, Bg.70

the incident of a hare chasing the dog to a Sage at that place. Pleased with the narration Yatindra, the seer smiled and said, “O king this place is worthy for the residence of a great kings and instructed him to establish a city calling it as Vidya and construct nine gates, where you can stay like Purandhara”. Accordingly Harihara made up his mind to set up his capital city there.

The same narration of the legend is also found in the Nellore inscription.¹ The Portuguese chronicler Fernao Nuniz also gives the same information in his account about the foundation of the Vijayanagara City.² This type of legends are quite common in the history of Karnataka, which we find in the epigraphical and literary sources.

The discovery of Neoliths and handmade pottery at the region dates back to the Neolithic times. Later this area came under the control of various dynasties that ruled over Karnataka, such as the Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas of Malakhēd, Chālukyas of Kalyāna, Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra. Thus, during pre-Vijayanagara period this place was a religious centre with goddesses Pampā and her consort Virūpāksha. Kishkindha of *Rāmāyana* is also believed to be close to Hampi and some incidents of the epic period are said to have taken place in and around the

¹ Butterworth – Inscriptions of the Nellore District – 1, pp.114-115

² Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, pp.299-300

Hampi region. When Vijayanagara rulers selected this as their capital, it was a small village with god Virūpāksha temple.

It was also described as 'Pampā Thīrtha'.¹ An inscription of A.D. 1199 called the place as 'Hampā Thīrtha' and 'Virūpāksha Thīrtha'. The other traditional names of Hampi are 'Pampā Kshētra',² Bhāskara Kshetra,³ and Virūpāksha Mahakshētra⁴. An epigraph dated A.D. 1399 refers to it as 'Virūpāksha Hosapattana',⁵ yet another inscription from Hēmakuta region refers to Hampi as 'Pampāpura' and also 'Pampākshētra'.⁶ It was also known as 'Vidyānagara'⁷ in honour of the sage Vidyāranya. Hampi developed into a big city only after making it became the capital city and there was gradual expansion under the various rulers. But it received a great setback after the battle of Talikota. It was destroyed completely by the Bahmani soldiers. Some temples and buildings are in good condition to this day which speak of the socio-cultural history of Vjayanagara. After the debacle of Talikota the capital city was shifted to Penugonda, then to Chandragiri and finally to Vellore in A.D. 1606.

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.271; I.A. Vol.VI, (1872), p.85

² Sastri Nilakanta K.A. – Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Madras University, Madras, 1946, Vol.II, p.10 (Kaifiyat Srisailam)

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.271

⁴ Sastri Nilakanta K.A. – Op.Cit, pp.10 –11 (Kaifiyat of Kandana, Vol.4)

⁵ Venkata Ramanayya N. – Vijayanagara : Origin of the city and The Empire, New Delhi, 1990, p.102

⁶ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.267

⁷ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.248

The founder and first ruler of Vijayanagara kingdom was Harihara I (A.D. 1336-56) of the Sangama dynasty. Regarding how the city was built by Hukka, jointly with the sage Vidyāranya, is given in the popular legend of the hare and the hound.¹ In addition to this some other writings attribute the foundation of the city to Harihara and the sage Vidyāranya. But there is no inscriptional or monumental evidence from the site to support this view. Initially Harihara I ruled from Anegondi situated on the northern bank of the river Tungabhadra. This is confirmed on the basis of an epigraph of A.D. 1349 found at Anegondi² and the account of Domingo Paes also refers to Anegondi as the old and earlier capital.³

It was during the period of Bukka I (A.D. 1356-77) the capital was shifted from Anegondi to the present site of Vijayanagara, south of the river Tungabhadra. Establishment of the Bahmani kingdom might have forced the Vijayanagara rulers to shift the capital from northern bank to the southern bank of the Tungabhadra, the safer place that is surrounded by fast flowing river, impassable craggy hills and ranges. These natural features afforded strong defence to the newly built capital. An inscription dated A.D. 1378 reveals that Bukka I had built a splendid capital city called 'City of Victory'.⁴ A record of A.D. 1368 refers that Bukkaraya was on the throne of

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, New Delhi, 1987, p.299

² ARIE, 1972-73, No.B.115; V.P.R. 1983-84, No.74

³ Sewell Robert , Op.Cit, p.259

⁴ E.C. V. Cn. No.256

the new Vijayanagara.¹ Another epigraph of Harihara II dated A. D. 1378 asserts that Bukka I had built a splendid city called Supreme City, Hosapattana, the City of Vijayanagara.²

In the beginning, the city was quite small. All the activities of the people were concentrated around the Virūpāksha temple and Hēmakūta hill. As a result of this the administrative and military headquarters were located further south. It was during the period of Bukka I a fortification around royal centre was constructed with two gateways called ‘*Singārada Hebbāgilu*’ and ‘*Somavārada Bagilu*’. They are located to the east of the City of Bukkarāya.³ Thus, after the establishment of the Royal Centre his son and successor Harihara II (A.D. 1377-1404) concentrated his attention on the expansion of the City which grew well beyond the limits of the capital city. This was mainly due to the settlement of various communities that came in search of employment opportunities. Further, Harihara II constructed concentric fort walls around the capital with two well defendable outer gates, which are called *Betekarara Hebbagilu* and *Hodeya Bagilu*. The inscription found on the *Hodeya Bagilu* refers to a grant made by king Harihara to god Vinayaka.⁴ These two gates are placed at considerable distance from each other. Harihara’s minister called Irugappa Dandanāyaka

¹ E.C.VIII, Sk.No.281

² Heras Rev. H. – Beginning of Vijayanagara History, Bombay, 1929, p.130

³ VPR – 1983-84, No.2; No.3, pp.21-23

⁴ VPR, 1984-87, No.105, p.191

constructed a Jaina *Chaityalaya* for Kunthu Jinanātha in A.D. 1385.¹ This is located in the south western part of the ‘Urban Core’, outside the Royal Centre. Thus, it was during the period of Harihara II a number of temples were built, and constructional activities began in the capital city. Besides king and ministers, private individuals also constructed temples and *mantapas*. A record of A.D. 1379 refers to the construction of a *mantapa* by an individual for god Narasimha on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra.² A customs official Hiriya Tamma built a Siva temple near Narasimha temple. It is referred to in an epigraph of A.D. 1386.³ Another inscription of A.D. 1400 refers to the donation of a water pond to this deity.⁴ It is clear that it was a temple of importance in the late fourteenth century and perhaps was the earliest temple and a place of Vaishnava worship in the capital. To the east of the *Betekarara Hebbāgili* a shrine for Siva ‘Oreteya Mailaradēva’ was built with a pond. The shrine is small with sanctum and a porch. Thus, both Vaishnava and Saiva shrines came to attain religious importance towards the end of the fourteenth century.

The area around Virūpāksha temple and Hēmakuta continued as a hub of religious activities witnessing more new constructions. A small temple to god Virūpāksha was erected on the southern end of the Hēmakuta hill by

¹ S.I.I. Vol.I, No.152; S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.246

² VPR, 1984-87, No.58, p.38

³ ARIE, 1975-76, No.B.99

⁴ VPR, 1983-84, No.12, p.29

two Brahmin brothers¹ in A.D. 1398. Thus, fairly a wide area covered by these five temples reveals the spread of the city towards the end of the 14th century and emerged as an important religious centre. This reveals clearly that the royal city incorporating religious sentiments grew into a military zone to meet the requirements of the subjects and the state. Then the people of different sects started to live and settle in all directions outside the Royal Centre.

Towards the end of the period of Harihara II in A.D. 1402 his General Irugappa Dandanāyaka built another Jaina temple at Anegondi. This indicates that Anegondi still enjoyed the status of significant town and served as a part of Vijayanagara city.

The Narasimha temple and its surrounding area on the southern bank of Tungabhadra continued to be a focus of constructional activity in the first decade of the fifteenth century. A temple for god Gōpinātha was constructed and it is referred in an epigraph of A.D. 1406.² Another inscription of A.D. 1410 records that the same donor constructed a *mantapa* for god Gōpinātha and goddess Mahālakshmi.³ For these temples liberal grants were made both by the king and individuals. The significance of the worship of Narasimha might have made it imperative on the part of the rulers to construct the

¹ ARSIE for 1934-35, Nos.351 and 352

² VPR, 1984-87, No.62, p.40

³ VPR, 1984-87, No.60, p.39

Hazāra Rāma temple in the heart of the Royal Centre. During the reign of Dēvarāya I (A.D. 1406-1422) this Hazara Rāma temple was the most outstanding temple in artistic features, especially for its pillars and sculptures carved around walls of the temple. As this temple was situated in the very heart of the Royal Centre it helped as a salient landmark for the allround development of the Vijayanagara capital city. Hence, the ring roads were formed around the royal enclosures. This clearly shows that the Vijayanagara rulers gave a lot of importance to the road system of the City.¹ Thus, it became evident that by the time of early fifteenth century the road system of the city had been well planned and developed systematically.

Another inscription of Dēvarāya I dated A.D. 1412² mentions the construction of a roofed well surrounded by a rest house. this is mentioned in an inscription as 'Malige Kupa-arama i.e. well-cum- rest-house with roof. This is octogonal in its plan and shape with roofed shelter, passage at two stages all round, and with arched openings towards the water with thirty four steps. This is the earliest dated well of the Vijayanagara period. It was built perhaps to serve the needs of the travellers. A settlement developed under the name Malapanagudi with a temple for god Mallikārjuna, or Mallayya as part of the capital city.

¹ Fritz J.M. – The Roads of Vijayanagara : A Preliminary Study; in VPR, 1979-83, pp.55-56

² S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.436; ARSIE for 1904, No.25

Abdur Razzak, an ambassador sent to India by the Muslim ruler of Herat, visited the royal court of Devaraya II in A.D. 1443. He has given a very valuable account in which he referred to seven concentric fortifications of the city¹, inner-most palace of the king, an audience hall, a hall of Justice, a hall of Ministers and a royal mint. He also noticed an elephant stable of eleven compartments with an open arch door and each compartment is perfectly square and measures 6 x 6 mts. It was built of solid walls with roof made of strong wood and mortar.² The chains fixed in the beams were used to tie the necks and backs of the elephants. The legs were also chained. Above the roof of the elephant stables there are alternative domes and vaults of different designs. In the absence of epigraphical evidences it is very difficult to fix the date of its construction. This stable was used for the royal darbar elephants, which were occasionally used at the time of royal processions and festivals to carry the king, princes, and other royal family members.

So, taking into consideration other splendid buildings and the Mahānavamidibba, Abdur Razzak described the capital as: "I saw that it was a city of enormous magnitude and population, with a king of perfect rule and hegemony whose kingdom stretched more than a thousand leagues. Most of his regions were flourishing and he possessed around three hundred

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.88-90

² Ibid., pp.91-92

ports. He had thousand elephants with bodies like mountains and miens like demons. The city of Vijayanagara has no equal in the world".¹

Further, from his accounts it is clear that his visit coincided with the period of major construction at the capital city, which greatly enhanced its splendour. More than four kilometers of fortification was built during the time of Devaraya II. Most probably the Mahānavamidibba was constructed during his period only. The palaces and small shrines must have come up just in front of the Throne Platform. Within its premises there is a beautiful *Pushkarni* or stepped pond from where water was supplied to the royal palaces and other public buildings. Even today we can see the canal of stones to supply water. Thus, the elaborate network of good and regular water supply is a clear evidence of the fact that the rulers were very conscious about providing the civic amenities in the City.

The Jaina community also received great patronized by Devaraya II. He constructed a *Chaityalaya* for the worship of the twenty third *tīrthankara* Pārvanatha in A.D. 1426. This is located on one of the principal roads of the City viz the *Pānsupari Bazar*,² area specialised in the trade of betel leaf and nut. For the first time Devaraya initiated the practice of employing Muslims in the army. Thus, they were not only in the service of military but

¹ John Gollings, J.M. Fritz and G.Michell – City of Victory, Introduction, Aperture Press, New York 1991

² S.I.I. Vol.I, No.153; S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.261

also they became residents of the city. A mosque was constructed by Ahmed Khan, an officer under Devaraya II.¹ After his death he was buried near the mosque and his tomb can be seen even today. About his mosque and the tomb Domingo Paes also narrated in his accounts. He has identified it as the Moorish quarters.² After a careful observation of the City Abdur Razzak exclaims that “ The city of Bijanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world”.³ It is true to the reality and not an exaggeration made by Abdur Razzak. Lakkanna Dandesha, who was a Minister and General of Devaraya II in his book *Sivatatva Chintamani* narrated the king’s attitude towards the beautification of the City of Vijayanagara. Devaraya II constructed long and wide roads by levelling the ground. And also he erected gates at important public places.

An inscription dated A.D. 1450 records that Praudha Devaraya founded a village called Sōmalapura and constructed a temple called Saumya Someswara, also a lamp pillar and Sandhya *mantapa* were erected. An inscription dated A.D. 1455 found at Nimbapura states that a village was donated to the Sōmēsva temple, situated near Kumarāgiri Agraḥāra on the

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.447

² Sewell Robert, Op.Cit, p.256

³ Razzak Abdur, Narratives of the Journey of Abd-er-Razzak in India in the 15th Century, (Ed.) by R.H.Major, p.23

southern bank of the Tungabhadra.¹ This clearly shows that gradually the city was extended up to Nimbapura to the east of Vitthalapura.

During the period of Mallikarjuna, who succeeded Devaraya II only a small temple was built with a gateway in the south western section of the city. The later rulers of Sangama dynasty could not concentrate their attention on the expansion of the city because of political disturbances.

Under the Sāluva kings, who ruled for a short period of two decades, the only development might have been the construction of the core of the great Vitthala temple.² Thus, at the end of the 15th century the boundaries of the Vijayanagara City were limited to Virūpāksha temple to the east, Anegondi in the north, Malapanagudi in the west. At the centre of this City Hazara Rāma temple was situated.

The reign of Krishnadevaraya is considered as the golden period in the history of Vijayanagara for the all round development and progress of the capital city. Though a follower of Vaishnava faith, Krishnadevaraya extended liberal patronage to Saivism also. He donated the village Singanayakanahalli to god Virūpāksha for the service of *amritapadi naivedya* on the day of his coronation. He also built the *maha-rangamantapa* and a *gopura* in front of god Virūpāksha. Besides he got

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.553

² Michell, G. – The New Cambridge History of India, 1.6: Architecture and Art of Southern India – Vijayanagara and the Successor States, p.39.

repaired the *Hiriya gopura* and donated a gold lotus decorated with precious stones.¹ This royal patronage to the main patron deity of Vijayanagara City accelerated its rapid expansion. Krishnadēvarāya for the merit of his parents donated Hariharapura for the service of *palguna-māsa*, *vaishāka māsa*, *nityotsava* and *mahāpuje* to god Vitthala in Vitthalāpura.² This helped the rapid development of the Vitthalapura. Besides, Krishnadēvarāya's two queens built the *gopuras* and gateways and presented the golden vessels to the temple.³ Even after Krishnadēvarāya his two successors, Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya and several private individuals made gifts of various kinds to the Vitthala temple. Thus, the Vitthala temple dedicated to lord Vishnu attracted a large number of followers to come and settle at Vitthalāpura. And its very name indicates that it was a famous Vaishnava centre. Similarly Krishnadēvaraya after his victory over Udayagiri, brought the statue of Bālakrishna and constructed a temple for god Bālakrishna in between A.D. 1513 and 1515, named that area as Krishnāpura.⁴ Thus, the settlement of inhabitants started around the Krishnāpura and it emerged as an important Brahmin settlement. An *Agrahāra* developed which was known as Krishnapura *Agrahara*. An epigraph dated A.D. 1515 refers to Tiruvidi of Balakrishnadēva and it records a land grant at Nelalahunise to brahmins

¹ A.R.No.29 of 1889; E.I. Vol.I, PP.361-71

² Kannada University Epigraphical Series III, No.181; S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.278

³ Ibid., No.181; S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.273

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IV, Nos, 254 and 255

engaged in the service of Bālakrishna at Krishnapura.¹ Achyutadēvarāya on the day of *Gō-dvādasi* in A.D. 1532 granted 800 *gadyāṇas* being the income from the *Krishnāpuraṇapete* to god Balakrishnadēva.² During the time of Sadāsivarāya, Bempayi, a temple dancer, donated two *Kolagas* of wet land for the service of Balakrishna.³ It was during his period that Krishnapura extended up to the *Hiriya Kāluve*. Thus, a new suburb established by Krishnadēvaraya received patronage by Achyutadēvarāya and Sadāsivaraya and it became densely populated in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The period of Krishnadēvaraya also witnessed the establishment of new suburbs to the south of the capital city like, Saletirumalarayapattana, Nagalādevipura, Tirumaladevi-Ammanapattana, and Chikkawadi. He established Saletirumalarayapattana, in the memory of his son Tirumala-mahārāya.⁴ Here a temple called Anantasayana was constructed with a massive *sikhara* in A.D. 1524. This temple is a colossal structure with 47 x 25 mts, unmatched in size by any other medieval monuments. Its huge sanctum sanctorium is rectangular in size about 24 mts high. So, this creation of a suburb also provided an opportunity to the people of the surrounding villages to come and settle for the service of god and also in search of employment.

¹ K.U.E.S. III, No.74

² Ibid., No.77

³ Ibid., No.78

⁴ ARSIE for 1922, No.683

He also built another township called *Nagaladevipura*, named after his mother.¹ In order to maintain sanctity of this place Krishnadevaraya donated this village to a priest called Ranganatha Dikshita, who in turn converted this place into a *Nagaladevipura Agrahara*. For the merit of the king's mother, Ranganatha Dikshita built a tank and named it as *Nagasamudra*. Further, he constructed two temples of *Nagesvara* and *Nagendrasayana*. In this way the creation of *Nagaladevipura* contributed to density of the population of the city and extended the boundary by about 10 kms towards the south-west of *Virupaksha* temple.

Krishnadevaraya established one more suburb in the name of his principal queen-Tirumaladevi known as *Tirumaladevi-ammanapattana*.² This was 3 Kms. away from *Nagaladevipura*. He also established another suburb *Chikkawadi*,³ named after another queen Chinnadevi. These four important townships were within a radius of 3 Kms from the centre of present Hosapete. Hence, all these four townships have contributed to the formation of modern Hosapete.

The Portuguese visitors like Durate Barbosa and Domingo Paes recorded their impressions of the capital city, the emperor Krishnadevaraya, people, culture, economy and so on. Durate Barbosa who

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.504

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.573

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.636

visited the city during the rule of Krishnadēvarāya in A.D. 1514 writes that “Bijanaguer, a large city, very populous and is surrounded by a very good wall, and on the other by a river, and on the other by a mountain, city consisted the crowd of all nations and creeds..... there is an infinite trade in this city. Many jewels, diamonds, pearls and seed pearls are to be found in the different markets”.¹

Domingo Paes, who was at the capital city from about A.D. 1520 to 1522, referred to the new suburbs added by Krishnadevarāya, with the wide and broad roads, rows of houses and shops on both sides of the street. Also he described *Mahānavami* festival at some length.² He observed the city's stone walls, which ran over the rocky hills, and the many gates with towers. He was unable to estimate the size of the capital city's population “because it cannot all be seen from any one spot”. He acknowledged that “the people in this capital city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous”. Further, he said that “What I saw seemed as large as Rome, and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of tree within it many orchards and gardens with fruit trees many conduits of water which flow in the midst of it, and in places there are lakes”. He concluded that “ Vijayanagara is the best

¹ Sewell Robert, Op.Cit, p.129

² Ibid., p.253

provided city in the whole world".¹ Thus, during the rule of king Krishnadevarāya, the Vijayanagara capital city not only grew but also expanded.

Achyūtadevaraya the half-brother and successor of Krishnadevarāya made some significant contributions for the growth and development of Vijayanagara city. During his time some additions were made within the temple of Vijayavithala.² In A.D. 1532 the great Madhva teacher, Vyasaraya set up the image of god Yōga-varadānarasimha in a small shrine to the north-west of the Vijayavithala. Similarly an epigraph of A.D. 1534 refers to the installation of the sculptural images of the *Ālvārs* in the north of the temple complex.³

The king Achyūtadevarāya's reign also saw the additions of two more new localities and suburbs. One of which was within the limits of the city proper called Achyutapura. In A.D. 1534 his brother-in-law and Prime Minister Hiriyatirumalaraja built a temple for god Tiruvengalanatha.⁴ Later the area around this Tiruvengalanātha temple came to be known as Achyutapura. Sometimes Tiruvengalanātha temple was also called locally as Achyūtarāya temple.⁵

t- 633

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.242-260

² ARSIE for 1922, No.710.

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.566

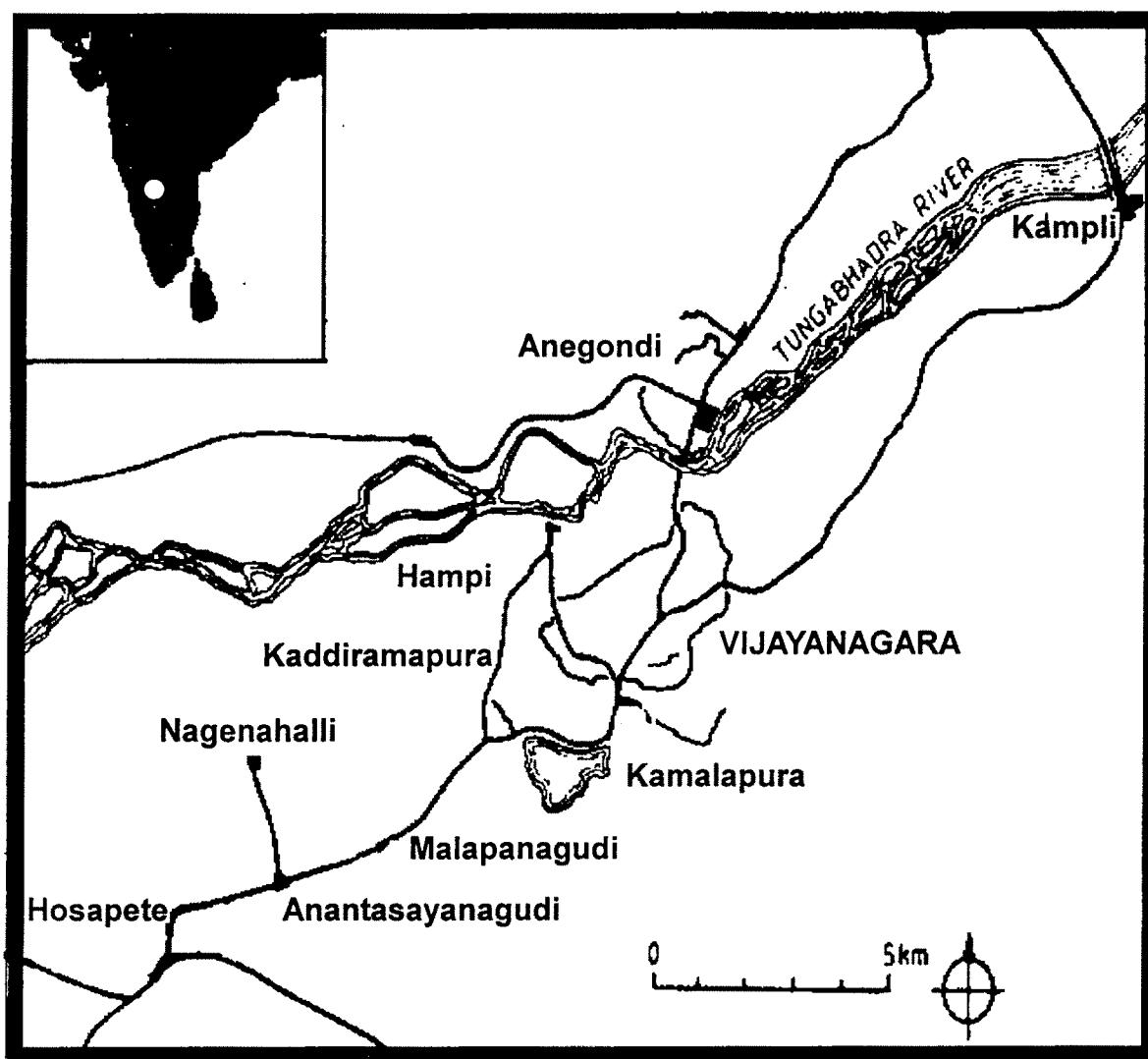
⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.564

⁵ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.595

Another suburb was set up to the south of the capital city by the same Prime Minister for the merit of the queen of Achyutadevaraya, named Varadarajammanapattana. It was here that a large temple to god Raghunātha was built.

Thus, from the inception of the empire up to the period of Achyutadevaraya, the medieval Hindu capital city expanded from a small pilgrim centre to a splendid capital city with many extensions and suburbs around the different temple complexes. All these suburbs served as administrative, military, religious, trade, commercial and educational centres. This strong and mighty City received a severe jolt in A.D. 1565 when Muslim soldiers took to a systematic destruction of the Vijayanagara capital city.

VIJAYANAGARA METROPOLIS



CHAPTER -III

DEVELOPMENT OF EXTENSIONS AND SUBURBS

The foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire at Hampi opened a new chapter in the history of urbanization in medieval Karnataka. The founders of this kingdom selected Hampi (Vijayanagara) as their capital. After 14th century the city began to expand rapidly as a great urban centre. Till its decline in (AD 1565) the Vijayanagara City enjoyed the reputation as one of the famous cities of medieval India. The city developed from Anegondi in the north to Hosapete in the south, and from Hampi in the west to Kamalapura in the east. Within this extent there were many extensions called *Puras*. These *Puras* were established on the initiative of the rulers.

The important *Puras* like: Virupākshapura, Achyūtapura, and Vitthalāpura, were established and developed on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river while Krishnapura, Kamalāpura, Varadādeviammana pattana were developed beyond the river bank. In addition to these some other suburban townships such as, Malapanagudi, Saletirumalarayapattana, Nagalāpura, and Tirumaladeviammanapattana were established and developed.

Virupākshapura, Krishnapura, Vitthalāpura, Achyūtapura, Kamalāpura, Varadādeviammanapattana and the City of Victory i.e the metropolis of Vijayanagara City complexes lay contiguous to one another and were

demarcated by lines of intervening hillocks, canals, tanks, orchards, ramparts and all together made it a vast metropolis city, about 6 kms from the Virūpākshapura to the Penugonda Gate and from Kamalāpura tank to Talavaraghatta. While the suburban townships were located about 6 kms to the south-west, on the Kamalāpura-Hosapete road, the spatial distance of five suburban townships also roughly measured about 6 kms. This indicates that the Vijayanagara town-planners, who were perhaps very conscious of the rapid growth of the capital city, took care to create a buffer between the imperial capital city and the suburban townships and made it sure that this portion of extension was carefully utilised and nurtured by agriculturists, horticulturists and merchant groups.

A comprehensive survey of the *Puras* reveals following:

- (a) All the *Puras* and *Pattanas* in and around the capital city were established either by the ruler himself or by one of his close relatives.
- (b) These *Puras* were invariably named after the founder rulers or after their family deity or their respective queens and son.
- (c) That all these *Puras* served either as extensions of capital city or of its suburbs.
- (d) Tuluvas, particularly Krishnadevaraya and Achyutadevaraya have greater credit than others for expanding the Capital City of Vijayanagara into different *Puras* and *Pattanas*.

- (e) All the *Puras* were developed around a chief temple.
- (f) The establishment of the *Puras* shows that they were developed in all directions to facilitate the growing population of the Capital City.

Features:

Puras being the different parts and localities of the Vijayanagara City offer the following features :

1. *Puras* were developed around temples.
2. Each *Pura* had a market. Different shops were situated on either side of the road, which was generally called *Rathabidi*.
3. Tanks were constructed on the left side of the temples in all the *Puras*.
4. All the temples were famous educational centres.
5. In all these temples respective religious festivals and rituals were held regularly. And the *Mathas* also came up.
6. *Puras* were not only centres of trade and commerce but also the centres of cultural activities.
7. *Puras* were the settlements of the different communities.
8. The emergence of *puras* gave scope for the establishment of *Agraharas*.
9. The establishment of *puras* enabled the rulers to maintain communal harmony even though they were named after gods and had developed around the places of worship.

10. All the *puras* were under the control and management of city administration.

Many reasons are ascribable to the question: why these *puras* and bazars were developed around and in front of the temple?

Firstly, Saivism and Vaisnavism were the main two religions patronised by the Vijayanagara rulers. In medieval times people considered religion as an important aspect of life. And temples acted as centres of education, centres of fine arts, and places of religious ceremonies which were celebrated elaborately. Hence, the notion of constructing various temples for different gods developed in the minds of the rulers and people. Keeping in mind the role of temples, rulers started building big temples with vast premises surrounded by high walls. As a result of this followers of various religions made up their mind to settle around the temples of their faith. So, the *puras* developed around temple complexes.

Secondly, after inception of the capital city a large number of population of different sections of the society started to migrate searching for employment opportunities either in the royal centre or in different *puras*. And it was inevitable for them to engage themselves in different works depending upon their caste and creed. A small group of all communities were engaged in the services of the temple. Many of them established shops of different kinds. Thus, the professional attitude made the *puras*

cosmopolitan in nature. The absence of large scale industries resulted in the flourishing of small scale industries in each and every *pura*.

Thirdly, temples were the centres of education, *Agrahāras* came up in different *puras* and suburbs at Krishnapura, Nelalahunise, Nagaladēvi-pura, and Kumaragiri. Brahmin scholars and students from different parts of the empire started to come over to the *Agrahāras* to continue their studies. Liberal grants were made to these *Agrahāras* for their maintenance. This increased the social significance of the *Agrahāras*. Experts of various subjects such as *Itihāsa*, *Vēda*, *Vedantas*, *Agamas*, *Ganita*, *Astrology*, *Grammar*, *Logic* and *Ayurvēda Sastra* were appointed as teachers. They were also guiding the people in general in their religious rituals. These prompted the individuals to make liberal donations for the maintenance of *Agrahāras*.

Fourthly, temples were the centres of fine arts such as dance, music, painting and sculpture and other artistic skills. As Vijayanagara rulers opened a new page in the sphere of art and architecture by constructing huge and artistically beautiful temples, they were forced to employ the sculptors, designers, masons and architects from different parts of South India. Temple construction work was a continuous process in the Vijayanagara empire. Palaces, citadel walls, gateways, watch-towers, and other buildings were also constructed in different parts of the city. Hence, a large section of

skilled workers came and settled in different *puras*. So, this also played an important role in the growth of the settlement around temples.

Fifthly, all the essential commodities were not grown in the City. Merchants from different parts of the empire came here with their goods and sold them in the weekly markets held in the different *puras* regularly. Such merchants also made their temporary settlements in the *puras*. Foreign trade also flourished in the capital city. So, to the foreign merchants kings provided good facilities for their comfortable stay and gave scope for their trade. Hence, *puras* attained the significance of well known trading centres. People of surrounding villages generally attended such weekly markets. Jewellers made ornaments of gold and silver fixed with rubies, pearls, and diamonds and attracted women folk in large number.

Archaeological remains travel accounts of foreign visitors, and contemporary literary works composed during Vijayanagara period throw a flood of light on the genesis and growth of *puras* in the Vijayanagara history. Besides these, the existing temples, roads, ruins of shopping complexes are the living legends which give maximum information about the different *puras*.

The travel accounts of Nicolo-di-Conti, Nikitin, Durate Barbosa, Domingo Paes, Fernao Nuniz etc are very useful sources of information. Similarly the literary sources like *Mōhanatarangini* of Kanakadasa,

Amuktamālyada of Krishnadevaraya, *Sivatatva Chitamani* of Lakkanna Dandēsha, *Channabasavapurana* by Virūpakshapandita give descriptive evidences of different *puras* and city as a whole. All these accounts are of great historical importance for a study of different *puras* of the Vijayanagara Capital City.

VIRUPĀKSHAPURA

Hampi is an ancient name to the Vijayanagara Capital City. Hampi of historical fame was a small village in the present Hosapete taluk of Bellary district and it is situated at a distance of 12 kms. In the north-east from Hosapete, on the southern bank of river Tungabhadra. It lies in between lat. $15^{\circ} 20' N$ and Long. $76^{\circ} 30' E$. The temple of lord Virupāksha, the protecting deity, is the main and ancient temple of Hampi. To the south of this temple is the Hēmakuta hill and to the east Matanga hill are situated. The whole locality is surrounded by a steep rugged rocky hills and big boulders, serving as a strong natural fortification. Whereas the wide, violent unfordable Tungabhadra river has extended its protection to the Virupaksha temple.

The place on which Raya's of Vijayanagara rebuilt the present temple of Virupāksha, in the early 15th century has a recorded history of about thousand years. Epigraphs of the pre-Vijayanagara period belonging to different dynasties refer to Hampi by different names. From 7th century to

14th century it was called as ‘Pampa’, ‘Pampākshētra’, ‘Pampapura’, ‘Pampatirtha’, ‘Swāmi Pampasthala’, ‘Virupakshatirtha’, ‘Hampe’ and ‘Virupākshapura’. Even at the time of the establishment of the Vijayanagara empire Hampi was a small village. Initially the rulers did not concentrate their attention on the extension of the temple. Despite this, temples were constructed in the different parts of the city. Even then it was a famous pilgrim centre for Saivas. Praudhadēvaraya, the great Sangama ruler for the first time concentrated his attention on the development of Virupaksha temple and the surrounding area. Poet General Lakkanna Dandesha, wrote in his work *Sivatatva Chintamani* that King Dēvaraya II built a huge enclosure wall to the temple, four gateways in the four cardinal directions by clearing the foreground of the temple, laid a wide car-street and got fruit bearing trees planted on either side of the *gopuras* on the Hemakuta region. He also got lofty chariots made for gods Virupāksha, Pampa and Ganesa.¹ His another General Proluganti Tippa built a *gopura* to the temple of Virupāksha.² This is narrated in *Uttara Narasimha Purānam* of Haribhatta. This is the largest of the *gopuras* raised during the Vijayanagara kings at Hampi.

¹ Lakkannadandesa – Sivatatvachintamani, (Ed.) Vidvan and Pandita S. Basappa, Manasagangotri, Mysore, 1970, Sandhi-38, Stropher 250 onwards, p.68

² The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, XVI, pp.84-90; KAN Sastri and N.V.Ramanayya – Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Vol.III, Madras, 1946, p.46.

An inscription dated A.D. 1510¹ states that Krishnadevaraya with a view to commemorate his coronation ceremony donated Singanayakanahalli to god Virupāksha for the service of *amritapadi-naivedya* on the day of his coronation. He also built the *maha-navarangamantapa* and a small *gopura* in front of the god Virupāksha. This is known as Rayagopura even today. He also got repaired the *Hiriya-gopura* i.e., large tower. In course of time, halls and other *mantapas* were added. Thus, Virupāksha temple emerged as a great centre of Saivism. This attracted the people to settle around the temple. During the rule of Praudhadevaraya and Krishnadevaraya, because of its social significance, a large number of people came and settled in this *pura*. The Virupāksha temple was the centre of rituals and religious ceremonies. Conducting fairs and festivals was quite common in Hindu religion. Accordingly Devaraya II initiated the annual festival to god Virupāksha. The chariots made out of strong wood were taken out in the procession, generally in the main streets of the *pura*. At the time of car festival the idols of Virupaksha, Pampa and Ganesa were kept inside the chariots. So, this type of celebrations attracted not only the attention of people from nearby area but also from the distant regions. The Venetian merchant and the first European visitor to Vijayanagara capital city, Nicolo-dei-Conti refers to the two chariots on which the idols were carried through the city.²

¹ Kannada University Epigraphical Series-III, No.34; A.R.No.29 of 1889

² Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.84.

Poet Ahōbala, who lived in the beginning of the 14th century, in his work '*Virupaksha Vasantotsava Champū*' refers to two chariots; one taken out by the Brahmins and another by merchants and Sudras.¹ It is very interesting to note that even to this day the Virupaksha chariot festival drew large crowds.

In the medieval times such festivals were rare occasions for the people to meet and to get together. Hence, the merchants decided to set up their stalls near the temple premises. One of the salient features of the *pura* was that market was held regularly or there was a regular market. The farmers of the surrounding area brought their goods and articles to exchange or to purchase the needy things like precious ornaments, clothes etc. Taking into consideration the commercial activities of the *puras* the merchants set up their permanent shops around the temple. Thus, it paved the way for *puras* to become commercial centres. Even today on either side of the chariot street, some archaeological remains of shops can be seen.

The systematic layout of the main streets was a distinct feature of the Vijayanagara capital city which received the world acclaim. These are widely quoted in the accounts of itinerants from time to time. These main streets also served the purpose of bazar or market. In these bazars each class of people belonging to each profession had shops adjacent to one another and the jewellers sold openly pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds. Among

¹ Panchamukhi R.S. – (Ed.) *Virupaksha Vasantotsava Champu*, K.R.I. Dharwar, 1953, Int., p.xiii

the different bazars, the most ancient and renowned was the Virupaksha bazar.

The street running from the east of the *Hiriya-gopura* to the opposite of Nandi-mantapa or to the north-west foot of Matangahill is called Virupāksha Bazar or is known locally as Hampi-Bazar. Virupāksha Bazar also has different names like: 'Pamparathavidi', 'Terubidi' etc., Virupāksha Bazar is as old as Virupāksha temple. But in the beginning it functioned as only *teru-bidi* or the ceremonial street for chariot festivals. This long street suggests that it was built to pull the chariots and to perform the other religious ceremonies and festivals. Nicolo-dei-Conti writes that during the *Holi* festival, colour was kept on both sides of the street, which they sprinkled on all passers-by, even the King and Queen played also with saffron water, placed for that purpose by the way side.¹

The *mantapas* of Virupāksha Bazar were built for business purposes but the balconies at the upper levels suggest that they were intended as platforms from where one could view the chariot processions. And these also served as temporary residences for courtly visitors at festival time, while some *Mantapas* accommodated merchants and traders. Most of the remains of the lesser structures are concealed in the fields on both sides of the bazar. Domingo Paes found here " a very beautiful street of very

¹ Sewell Robert, Op.Cit, p.

beautiful houses with balconies and arcades, in which are sheltered the pilgrims that come to it, and there are also houses for lodging the upper classes; the king has a palace in the same street, in which he resides when he visits this pagoda".¹ These lines of Paes suggest and confirm the use of *Mantapas* as temporary residences and places of business activities.

The exploration near the temple by the way of clearance of accumulated debris to a depth of 1.75 metres revealed the buried flight of steps, basement portions of several adjoining *Mantapas*. The clearance work on the street revealed that the centre of the road was paved with cut-granite slabs which were not dressed. The striking feature of the street is that the pavement was narrower at the eastern end but the width increased westwards. Towards the temple the height of the pavement gently and slowly rose causing a slope surface from west to east, is the other striking feature of the Virupaksha Bazar. The length of the street is 720 metres, width at the temple was 30 metres and at the end of the street width was little more than 35 metres.² This is the second longest and one of the widest of the streets laid by the Rayas of Vijayanagara. It was the busiest street during the prosperous days. On both sides of the street to its entire length from the beginning to the end colonnade *mantapas* were built on a 3 feet height

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.260

² Nagaraja Rao M.S. (Ed.) – In Vijayanagara : Progress of Research, 1979-83, D.A.M. Mysore, 1983, p.9.

platform. These *mantapas* are simple structures with crudely fashioned columns. Some *mantapas* have two storeys, with double height columns surmounted by parapets on street facade. A hoard of three hundred and fifty copper coins and another store of two hundred and eighteen gold coins called *Rasipanams* safely kept in a copper vessel covered by a bowl-like lid was discovered in the Virupāksha Bazar.¹ This gives an insight to the quantum of business transactions that went on in the Virupāksha Bazar.

The Virupaksha Bazar was also a market. In the beginning it was started to fulfill the needs of the temple. After Hampi became the capital city, many people belonging to various communities came and settled around the Bazar. On both sides of the Bazar lined *Mantapas* were built with temple as the centre, and this led to the development of a *pura*. The food stuffs and other daily requirements of the people were sold at this market to meet the demands of this *pura*. This is proved by the recovery of a hoard of gold and silver coins discovered in the vicinity of the Virupaksha Bazar. The colonnade *Mantapas* which are built opposite to each other on both sides of the street clearly indicate that these were the business complexes.

The Virupāksha Bazar was not only the centre of religious ceremonies and business activities it was also inhabited by sages and *munis*. Lakkanna Dāndesha, the General and a Vīrasaiva poet refers the name of

¹ Dikshit G.S. (Ed.) – Early Vijayanagara Studies in its History and Culture – B.M.S.Memorial Foundation, B'llore, 1988, p.204.

Gurumurthy Ondettinayya, a Virasaiva sage built a *Mandira* at Pampapathiyyarathavidi and had arranged for a regular *dasoha*. He also mentions the names of other Virasaiva sages like, Dakshinamurthy Kriyāsakthi, Yatirāya and Mahajnanagurumurthy Akasavasiyati and others who were all residing in this street.¹

Kings, nobles, wealthy people, merchants by giving liberal grants supported and encouraged the *Mathas*. Many *Mathas* are seen even now in the Virupaksha Bazar. Of such *Mathas* noted ones are *Sree Kasi Karisiddēsvara Matha*, *Mavinatōpina Saviradevara Matha*, *Kotturaswāmy Matha*, *Bhusanuru Matha*, *Kallu Matha*, *Hanuvala Matha*, *Neelamma Matha*, *Huli Matha* etc.², Some *Mathas* are having two storeys. One of the *Mathas* on the right side of the Bazar has a Sivalinga made of mortar and in the *Mantapas* on the left side there are images of linga, nandi, yatis, door keepers at door, nandi opposite to one another and in the middle Siva linga. These structures exhibit the same features that Lakkanna Dandesha has described in his work '*Sivatatva Chintamani*'. These *Mathas* were also educational centres, where free food, clothing and shelter were provided to students. Even Kanakadasa in his '*Mōhanatarangini*' writes about this.³

¹ Bhoosnurmath S.S. – Ed. Vijaya Kalyana (Kan), pp.75-76

² Kotraiah C.T.M. – Hampe – Virsaiva Mathagalu Mattu Sahitya Parampare (Kan), p.20

³ Krishna Sharma B. – Karnataka Jana Jeevana (Kan), Dharwad, 1971, pp.90-93



Mathas have played a prominent role in the activities of *dasoha*, spreading religion and imparting education.

Virupākshapura being the most ancient *pura* played an important role as a sacred centre in pre-Vijayanagara period and played a much greater role in the Vijayanagara period not only as a sacred religious centre but also as a business centre. During this period it attained an all round development. Thus, the Bazar of this *pura* became the centre of wealth and culture. In this *pura* there existed the largest number of temples. It is quite interesting that the fall of the empire or sack of the Capital City after the battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565 did not affect the fame and name of the place and the Virupaksha Chariot Festival of the *pura* is continued even today with the same popularity and regularity.

KRISHNAPURA

This was the second *pura* established during the period of Krishnadevaraya. The area around the Krishna temple was known as Krishnapura. The Krishna temple was one of the main temples of Hampi. The Krishna temple is situated to the south of Virupāksha Bazar and on the way to Kamalapura. This area is known as Krishnapura from A.D. 1513. The Bālakrishna temple has great historical importance. An inscription of

the year A.D. 1513¹ states that the great Tuluva ruler Krishnadevaraya consecrated the idol of Sri Balakrishna, which he had brought from Udayagiri as a war trophy after defeating the Gajapati of Orissa in A.D. 1513. To commemorate his victory over Orissa, Krishnadevaraya built this temple. Then this township developed in course of time.

Krishnapura was the first Vaishnava pura, which was established at Hampi, and was the earliest of its kind founded during the period of Krishnadevaraya, as standing parallel to the Virupākshapura. The traditional limits of Krishnapura were Uddana-Veerabhadra temple on the right side and to the left it stretched upto the Virupaksha Bazar. According an inscription² the temple of Uddana- Veerabhadra was part of this locality and the deity was known as Mudu-Veeranna. The entire area to the south of the Hemakuta was an agricultural land with a canal in the front upto the times of Krishnadevaraya. Later he established a large Vishnu temple in the midst, converted this area into a temple town. Sri Balakrishna idol was installed in the *mani-mantapa*, or jewelled pavilion, located in the north-east corner of the courtyard of the temple on Friday the 16th February, AD 1515 by the ruler Krishnadevaraya.³

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.254, p.44

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.226, pp.59-60

³ S.I.I. Vol.No.254 and 255, pp.44-46

(The idol of Balakrishna is now placed in the Government Museum, Chennai).

Krishnāpura developed to its full size between AD 1513 and AD 1533, with a Brahmin settlement and *Agrahara* under the name Pratapadēvarayapura, located at Hiriya-kāluve or Turthu-kaluve. As elsewhere with the Vijayanagara temples, there was a long car-street which served as a ‘Bazar’ also. During the period of Krishnadevaraya Krishna Bazar was established. In epigraphs Krishna Bazar is referred to by different names such as: ‘*Krishnapura Pete*’, ‘*Balakrishnadēvara Terubidi*¹’, etc., Kanakadāsa who came to the Capital City and described Krishnapura as ‘*Krishna Nagari*’ in his popular work ‘*Mohanatarangini*’.²

At a short distance in front of the temple, on the other side of the present road, steps descend to the ceremonial chariot street, suggests that this was once lined with *Mantapas*, but today it is covered with banana gardens and sugarcane fields and partly conceal the ruined structures. Extending eastward from the temple, the street was as wide as that of the Virupāksha Bazar and not less than 570 metres long and 49.5 metres wide. Through the entire length on both sides of the street, the lined *mantapas* were built on a platform of 3 feet height. The *mantapas* are of two *ankanas*. Some *mantapas* have the space of more than two *ankanas*. Perhaps these *Mantapas* were the *Mathas* of Sri Vaishnavas. On the left side of the Bazar a tank is there. A small *utsava-mantapa* with *gopura* stands in the middle of

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.265; S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

² Hiremath R.C. (Ed.) – *Mohanatarangini* (Kanakadasa), K.U.D. Dharwad, 1973, p.34 (Stanza - 61)

the tank. On the pillars of the *Mantapas* Sri-Vaishnava symbols, sculptures are engraved. One of the *Mantapas* on the right side of the street is large. The sculptures like Vishnu, Balakrishna, Lakshminarasimha, and figures of *Alvars* are identifiable on the front pillars of the *Mantapa*. This *Mantapa* resembles the *Saiva Matha* of the Virupāksha Bazar. *Alvars*, being the followers of Sri-Vaishnavism, lived in these *Mantapas*. The idol of Sri Balakrishna was kept in the chariot and was dragged up to the end of Utsava *Mantapa*. But now this *mantapa* is ruined and its remains can be seen even today.

During the Vijayanagara period the Krishna Bazar was not only the centre of cultural and religious ceremonies but also an important market yard and a business centre. An inscription¹ clearly refers to the houses of Brahmins, shops in the street (*Pete*), grant of land for the maintenance of 'Sri Balakrishnadevaraterubidi'. Another inscription² of Achyutadevaraya of AD 1532 states that king Achyutadevaraya donated 800 *gadyanas* of pure gold *varaha* which was the collection from the shops of food grains of *Krishnapura Pete* on the day of Go-dvādasi to god Sri Balakrishnadeva. This inscription also states that this market had a cluster of shops which dealt more in food grains (*davasada angadigalu*), the shopkeeper's settlements located near the *Pete*. The road that linked Krishnapura with the

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.262

metropolis was meaningfully called in the 16th century as *Deveri-Vithi* or ‘Saviour’s Street’, for this was dotted with temples dedicated to Mudu Viranna, Ganēsa, Mallikarjuna and Prasanna Virupāksha¹ (Under ground temple). In this market not only food grains were sold but also many other things.

Recent excavations by the Archaeological departments around Sri Balakrishna temple have brought to light many things like. Chinese porcelain bowls, decorated pot-sherds with Chinese letters, floral designs etc. Most of the things are in blue colour.² These findings clearly point out that Vijayanagara had trade and commercial contact with China in those days. Durate Barbosa writes that there was an infinite trade in this city. Pearls, seed pearls and precious stones were brought from Ormuz and Ceylon while silk brocades, scarlet clothes and corals were brought from China and Alexandria to Vijayanagara markets they were sold.³ As capital city’s important market yard, Krishna Bazar was yielding a lot of revenue to the government. One of the visitors to the city, Domingo Paes, states that the revenue of the Crisnapor (Krishanapura) was one hundred thousand pardaos of gold, and the same revenue was granted to the Sri Balakrishna temple.⁴ Taxes were levied not only on the shops in the market but also on the loads

¹ E.I. IV, No.38, Pp.267 – 268; Settar S. – Hampi – A Medieval Metropolis, B’lore, p.30

² Nagaraja Rao M.S. – Vijayanagara : Progress of Research, 1979 – 83, Mysore, 1983, p.30.

³ Filliozat Vasundhara – Vijayanagara – National Book Trust, India, New Delhi, 1999, p.300.

⁴ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.290.

of bullock-carts. An inscription¹ of king Sadashivaraya dated AD 1545 refers to the levy of a tax in the *Krishnapura Pete* as one *Kasu* on one load of bullock cart and on Mondays each shop of the market gave one *Kasu*. This clearly shows that Monday was the market day in Krishnapura. But however, shops were opened regularly in small numbers. This is narrated by Domingo Paes in his accounts.²

Krishnapura with its Bazar played a key role in the prosperity of the Capital City. As it was the first Vaishnavapura established by Krishnadevaraya and as it also received encouragement from the later rulers it flourished as a prominent religious, economic and a cultural centre. *Krishnapura Pete* was once specially meant for the market of food grains.

VITTHALĀPURA

Vitthalāpura was the another Vaishnavapura of the Capital City. This *Pura* was built on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river. The central part of this *Pura* was Vitthala temple. It has been called Vijaya-Vitthala in most of the records. As it developed around Vitthala temple it is known as Vitthalapura. Several epigraphs bear evidence to this.³ The street which ran from the east *gopura* of the main temple to the west of *Parankusa-mantapa*

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.266

² Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, New Delhi, 1987, p.256.

³ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.272, p.68 and No.280, pp.74-75

is known as Vitthala Bazar. This also served as car-street and was called *Vitthaladevara Tēru-bidi*, and also as *Vitthalāpura* according to the inscription.¹ The length of the street was 945 metres with the width was 40 metres. Almost this eastern Bazar ran a kilometre long. The speciality of the Vitthala Bazar was that it was much wider and longer than the other Bazars of the Capital City.

Besides the main Vijaya-Vitthala temple, two more Vitthala temples were located in this area. The temple structure which faces the south gate of the main temple was called *Rāma-Vitthala* and another which stood at the end of the northern Bazar, or at the north-west corner of the main temple was called-'*Brahma-Vitthala*'. These two temples formed the parts of *Vijaya-Vitthala* temple and *Vitthalāpura*. The Vitthala Bazar was extended towards left side upto to the entrance of *Brahma Vitthala* temple. Here the length of the Bazar was 122 metres long and 16.3 metres wide. To the north, west and east of the *Vijaya-Vitthala* temple a short gallery extended northwards from the eastern *gopura* of the main temple to the *Brahma Vitthala* temple, and the most impressive and excellent longer one row of galleries extends east wards to the end of *Parankusa-mantapa*, the terminal point of the Vitthala Bazar. Now, of these *Mantapas*, only some survive.

On left side of the Bazar, the *Teppōtsava* pond with its own gallery and gateway was located between the *Vijaya-Vitthala* temple and the

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668, p.661

Parankusa-mantapa. The pillars of the *Mantapa* reveal the engraved Vaishnava sculptures. Recent excavations which were undertaken in this Bazar have yielded of gold and silver coins, pots and other things. They suggest the brisk business and trade transactions of the Bazar.

More than 30 inscriptions are found in and around the Vitthala temple. But none of these refer to the original patron and construction date of the temple. The first inscription to be found now in the temple of Vitthala is dated A.D. 1513, it also does not refer to the foundation of the temple. Haribhatta, a poet in his telugu poem *Narasimha-Purāṇam* praises Prolaganti Tippa, Minister of Praudhadēvarāya for having constructed a *bhōga-mantapa* for Vitthalapati, among the other benefacations to temples in Vijayanagara.¹ This shows that Vitthala temple was already there in existence before the time of Dēvarāya II. An epigraph found in Sirali² mentions a donation made in presence of Lord Vitthala on the bank of Tungabhadra in A.D. 1406 at the very beginning of the reign of Dēvarāya II. This inscription undoubtedly refers to the temple of Vitthala in Vijayanagara. This indicates that the temple of Vitthala in the Capital City was already famous as a holy place and a great centre as early as A.D. 1406.

¹ Nilakanta Sastri K.A. and Venkataramanayya N – Further Sources of Vijayanagar History, Madras, 1946, Vol.I, pp.108-9, VolII, p.63.

² E.C., VIII, Tirthahalli Taluk, 222, p.380.

But regarding this, inscriptions of the temple are quite silent. Inscriptions found in the temple belong to A.D. 1500 and onwards, and not one is earlier to this period. Most of them refer to Krishnadevaraya. An epigraph¹ records that for the merit of his parents the king donated Hariharapura, Virupapura, Hosuru-magane, Goriya-Kelaginagadde, Gopisettihalli to the service of god Vitthala and that he also exempted ten taxes in these places on the day of solar eclipse is referred to one of his inscriptions in the Vitthala temple.

The Vijaya-Vitthala temple is located in a big courtyard with a *garbhagriha*, *pradakshinapatha*, *sukhanasi*, *navaranga* and *maha mantapas* on the left side; goddess Lakshmi temple in the front; a Stone Chariot; and three pillared *Mantapas* like *Kalyana-mantapa*, *Bhoga-mantapa*, and *Nurukalu-mantapa* (Hundred pillared *mantapa*). The temple has three *gopuras* or gateways to the east, south and north. An epigraph² of AD 1513 states that these *gopuras* were built by the Queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi of Krishnadevaraya, and also as they enriched the temple with generous donations. Inscriptions also state that the surrounding shrines within the temple complex housed different gods like Adinarayana, Varada-yoga-narasimha, Lakshminarayana, *Alvars* etc. Totally, the Vijaya-Vitthala temple occupies the centre, though the open space at front was more than at the back. Many inscriptions dating from AD 1513 until AD.

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.273

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.278

1554 refer to several additions made during the reign of Krishnadevaraya, Achyutadēvarāya and Sadāsivaraya. It is also clear that the temple of Vijaya-Vitthala was repeatedly renovated till the fall of the capital in AD 1565.

The pillars of the *Mantapas* are highly ornate, especially the eastern *mantapa* of the temple is called *Dolotsava-mantapa* and now popularly called the 'Hall of Musical Pillars'. These pillars have gained the universal reputation by their complex composition and for their different musical notes. Some times it was called *Uyyale-mantapa*. This is the glorious mantapa of the temple.

An inscriptions¹ of the temple throw light on the celebrations of festivals like *Gokulasthami*, *Mahānavami*, *Vijayadasami*, *Ugādi*, *Dipāvali*, *Sri-Rāma-navami*, *Makara-Sankranti*, *Utitirunalu*, *Vamana-jayanti*, *Kode-tirunālu*, *Uyyale-tirunalu*, *Tepa-tirunalu*, etc., in the Vitthala temple. During this period Vitthala's *Utsava*, Chariot procession, float festivals were conducted. How the different coloured sarees and clothes were used to decorate the Vitthala chariot is also referred to in an inscription.² The Vitthala chariot was drawn in the main street upto the *Parankusa-mantapa*. Different festivals were celebrated with great grandeur. The inscription

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668, p.661

² Ibid., pp.661-662

further records that Vitthalāpura emerged rapidly as the leading Vaisnavapura in the Vijayanagara City.

The pond which is on the left of the Vitthala Bazar was built for the rituals of float festivals of god and goddesses, for ablutions, and to supply water to the Bazar area. The long built *Mantapas* along the street served as shops, rest houses, residential quarters and camping centres. Around the Bazar remains of settlements are seen, many shrines and *Mathas* stand outside the enclosure wall of the Vitthala temple. These *Mathas* were Vaishnava *Mathas* and Vaishnava saints lived there. Among them the *Ramanujakuta* was a bigger group. *Prasada* of the god Vitthala was distributed to the devotees there. The king *Sadāsivarāya* made grants and one part income of the grants was given to the daily activities and for the distribution of *prasada* at Ramanuja-kuta.¹ In addition to *dasōha*, Vaishnava *Mathas* were also spreading religion and imparting education.

Vitthala Bazar was a market yard like other Bazars of the capital city. Many precious articles and goods from different places were sold here. To the north-west of Vitthala Bazar, a stone bridge was constructed by Kampabhupa, brother of Harihara II, across the river Tungabhadra² to facilitate the Vitthala Bazaar to have direct connection with other areas in the north.

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.607

² Devakunjari D. – Hampi – ASI, New Delhi, 1998, p.62

Temples had a *Sri Bhandara* (temple treasury), which served as a bank giving loans to merchants and others from the grants of money donated by kings, rich merchants, etc. and the interest thus collected was used for the temple maintenance. This helped the mercantile activities.¹ During the reign of Achyūtadevarāya, Hiriya Malanayaka who was in the service of the king donated 200 *ghatti varahas* for daily offerings to god Vitthalaswami. The interest of this donation per month was *ghattivaraha* 5 and *chakragadyāna* 50.

Thus, it is clear that temples played an important part in encouraging trade and commerce in the *Puras*. Merchants came forward to give enormous financial assistance and make grants for constructing temples, *Mathas*, and *Mantapas*. An inscription dated A.D. 1534² refers to the installation of the images of twelve *Alvars* and Tirukancinambyalvar, by Gandha Tippisetti. He the donor is referred to by the term ‘*gandha*’, which indicates that either he was a merchant of sandal wood or sandal paste.

Certainly, these things throw a welcome light on the relationship of merchants of the Bazar with temples. The Vitthala Bazar of Vitthalapura was not only economically prosperous but was also culturally advanced.

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.574

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.566

ACHYŪTĀPURA

Achyūtāpura is one of the largest Vaishnava *Puras* of the Capital City. The hub of the Achyūtāpura was the temple of Tiruvengalanātha. But now this temple is commonly called as Achyūtarāya temple. The records state that it was established in AD 1534 by Hiriya Tirumalarāja Vodeyar, the king's brother-in-law (Queen's brother) and Chief Minister.¹ From the northern side of the temple up to the bank of Tungabhadra a wide street was built and developed. This was called Achyuta Bazar. In inscriptions it is referred as *Achyūtarāya Pete*, 'Achyuta Pete' and *Tiruvengalanatha Térubidi* etc.

The Tiruvengalanātha is one of the largest temples at Vijayanagara and the only temple with two complete rectangular courts. The temple has high walls with a *garbhagriha*, *pradakshina patha*, *sukhanasi*, *navaranga*, and *mantapas*. There are *gopuras* on all the four sides. To the north of the temple Achyūta Bazar and to the left dancing hall were situated. The length of the Achyūta Bazar is 366.3 metres with width of 39.9 metres. The excavations in the street revealed that the centre of the road was paved with cut granite slabs forming the width of 22 metres. This Achyūta Bazar was built along the temple.

One of the inscriptions clearly refers to the boundaries of the

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.564

Achyūtarāya Pete built by Hiriya Tirumalarāja Vodeyar. To the west there was the Matanga hill, to the east lay the garden of Tiparāja, to the north there was Sitakonda on the banks of Tungabhadra and to the south there was tank called Bhupatikere.¹

Achyūtāpura was unlike the other *Puras* of the Capital City was an exception and it was laid on the north-south axis and overlooking the river Tungabhadra. Whereas the other *Puras* extended from west to east. A ceremonial street lined with galleries ran northward from the *gopura* in the outer enclosure. This street was neither broad nor as long as those that of Virūpākshapura and Krishnapura. It ran eastward from the respective *gopuras*. *Mantapas* on the east-side of the street still stand but those on the west have partly collapsed. On the left side of the Bazar rectangular stepped tank was built for Tiruvengalanatha's celebrating *Teppōtsava* and to provide water to the people who were living in this *Pete*. The Venkateshwara temple was at the end of the street and on the right side of the Bazar there was another idoless temple referred to in one of the inscriptions as the temple of Hanumantha.² This temple also contained some Vaishnava sculptures. Further, the inscription mentions that rice and oil were given to the temple of Hanumantha for special *Pujas* on every Saturday as per the *Kattale* (rules) made by Tirumalaraja Vodeya.

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.564

² Nagaraja Rao M.S. – V.P.R. – 1984-87, No.72, Mysore, 1988, pp.43-44

Like other markets, *Achyūta Pete* or Achyūta Bazar was also a well known market-yard in the Capital City where different items were sold brought from different places were sold. An inscription found at Uddanna Veerebhadrā temple states¹ clearly that the levy of tax in *Achyūtāpura Pete* as one *kasu* on a load of bullock cart and on every Tuesday one *kasu* was collected from different shops in the market. This inscription also states that Tuesday was the market day of the Achyūtāpura. This kind of market days or fairs were held in different parts of the City everyday to as Domingos Paes observes.² In this market people used to get all sorts of things.

In the field of culture Achyūtāpura played a prominent role. Temple ceremonies, *Utsavas* and chariot processions were held regularly. The speciality of the Achyūta Bazar was that there was a separate *mantapa* for dance, perhaps it was the dance school (*Natya Shala*). It shows that how kings showed interest and gave encouragement to the arts of dance and music.

Longhurst, Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey of India and a scholar named the northern end of the Achyūta Bazar as ‘*Sule* Bazar (Courtesans Street) or *Kasber* Bazar (Harlots Market). The dancing girls were said to have occupied the street and they participated in the car festival of the temple. The houses now are in ruins and the street forms part of the

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.266

² Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.256

cultivated land but sufficient remains are there to show that it was once a handsome thorough fare¹. Even today local people call this street as Sule Bazar. But other Indian scholars have disagreed and called it misnomer. Some reasons are assignable in calling this street as Sule Bazar. In all the major temples of Vijayanagara for rendering ‘*anga-ranga-bhōga*’ services to gods grants² were made by the kings in different periods. For *Ranga Bhōga* services many dancers or *Devadasis* were appointed by the temple authorities. A share was also given to them out of the income of the temples, as mentioned in the inscription.³ For them, near the temple, separate houses were built.

The *Nātyamantapa* of Tiruvengalanātha temple exhibits the erotic sculptures, and different styles of dance in excellent postures. It clearly indicates that it was a place of *Natyashāla*. In view of this street might have been called Sule Bazar. But nowhere in inscriptions this street is referred to as Sule Bazar.

Achyūtāpura, as one of the largest Vaishnavapura held a prominent place in Vijayanagara. *Achyūtāpura*’s *Pete* also played a major role in trade and commerce of the city. This *Pura* was also a centre of religious ceremonies and various cultural activities.

¹ Longhurst A.H. – Hampi Ruins, p.110.

² S.I.I. IX, Pt.II, No.490, No.510 and 564 etc.

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, pt.II, No.607

VARADĀDĒVI-AMMANAPATTANA

Varadādēviamma Pattana, a suburban township was established to the south-east of Kamalāpura. This *Pattana* was developed around the temple of Raghunātha, is one of the important temples of Vijayanagara. Locally, this temple is called Pattabhi-Rāma temple. But epigraphs mention this temple as Raghunatha temple.¹ The Raghunatha temple was built during the period of Achyūtadevaraya. This *Pattana* was built by king Achyūtadevaraya in memory of his principal queen Varadadevi. In inscriptions it was also called 'Varadādēvi-ammanavara-Pattana',² 'Varadarājammana Pattana'³ and 'Varadaraji ammana Pattana'.⁴

The Raghunātha temple was built in late Vijayanagara style, grand and majestic in all respects. The temple had three *gopuras* with a large courtyard on the left and on the right a big *Kalyanamantapa* with a row of *Mantapas*. *Garbhagriha*, *sukanasi*, *pradakshināpatha*, *navaranga*, and *mahāmantapa* are the other parts of the temple. In the sanctum sanctorium Rāma, Lakshmana and Sita's pedestals are left, nothing more is known about the idols. The pillars of the temple are very nice with some sculptures probably like that of cowherd, and some pillars contain *yalis*. The

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.245; Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.595

² S.I.I. vol. IX, Pt.II, No.595; No.573

³ ARSIE, 1929, No.698

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IX, No.245

Raghunātha temple has a long Bazar with pond or tank and a well laid out car street in the front.

Varadarājammana Pattana was also a commercial centre. In some epigraphs it is also referred as ‘*Varadarājammana Pete*’.¹ It was a fairly big township with Raghunātha temple to the west and the Penugonda Gate to the east. Inscriptions call this gate as ‘*Penugonda Bagilu*’ but the local people call it as ‘*Sannakkeppana Agase*’. Outside the gateway there is a Veerabhadra temple. The eastern boundary of this *Pattana* was not only demarcated by a gate but also by a Raghunātha temple. This suburb (*Pattana*) is also referred as ‘*Pete*’ in one of the inscriptions of AD 1534. It states that the great king Achyutadēvarāya performed a ritual of one lakh oblations in fire in *Varadarāja-ammana Pete*.²

On both sides of the street a row of *Mantapas* were built. The scattered ruins suggest that there was a big Bazar. To the south-east of the main Raghunātha temple, near *Penugonda Bagilu* there are three temples. One of the temples among the three is now popularly called *Kallara-gudi*, but it can be easily identified as a temple of Raghunātha and the adjoining gateway as Penugonda Gate³. Opposite to the Gate there is another temple, for whom it was built is not traceable. On the right side, adjoining to

¹ ARSIE, 1929, No.730

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.561

³ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.241

Penugonda Bāgilu, Ganasha temple is built. Ruined Ganasha's idol with Mouse on the pedestal determines the shrine of Ganēsha.

After the Penugonda Gateway the Veerabhadra temple is located and the local people call this as the temple of Sannakki Veerabhadra. Even to this day idol inside the temple is in good condition. On the temple walls sculptures made out of mortar are seen. To the north of *Penugonda Bāgilu* there is another domed gateway which appears to have been one of the main entrances to the Capital City, while the *Penugonde Bāgilu* was an entrance to the *Varadarājammana Pete*. On the inner side of the domed gateway is a small chamber containing the deity of Hanuman. Within a few yards another important late Vijayanagara temple is seen with a compound wall and a *gopura*. Local people call this temple as 'Chikka-gudi', but archaeological records and literary works call it as 'Chinna-hudi' temple. There is an inscription celebrating the *anandanidhi* donation of king Achyūtadevaraya.¹ Around this temple there is a heap of ruins.

Varadarājammana Pete was a busy market like other bazars of the Capital. In this market different goods and articles, which were brought from distant places were sold. To look after the Varadarājammana *Pattana*, the *Pattanasvāmi* was appointed. He was referred to as 'Setti Pattanasvāmi' in the epigraphs.² He was looking after the affairs of the *Pattana*, and had a

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.256-257; ARIE, No.27-28 of 1889.

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.573

good hold and control over the market. He was also put in charge of collecting the tax on all goods and services which were coming to this market from the other places. This suggests that in this *Pattana* there lived many merchants and *Settis*, who played a prominent role in trade and commerce of the Capital City.

Varadarājamma Pattana was developed culturally also as it is indicated by rows of temples and *Mantapas* along the street. Most of the temples of this *Pattana* are Vaishnava temples. This clearly shows the influence of this sect in the Capital City at the time of king Achyūtadevārāya. This lengthy street also served as the chariot street. On the left of the Bazar remnant of tank is seen, which was used for *teppōtsava* and for other ceremonies of the temple.

SUBURBS

The description of *Puras* like Virupākshapura, Krishnāpura, Vitthalāpura, Achyūtapura and Varadađeđiammanā *Pattana*, does not complete the picture of the whole city. In due course of time brisk commercial activities contributed to the growth and prosperity of the City. To meet the different needs of the people, kings felt the need for creating some suburbs. These different suburbs were nothing but further extensions of the Capital City. These suburbs played an important role in shaping the economy, increasing the social solidarity of the capital. Most of the suburbs

were created during Krishnadevaraya's reign. Kaddirāmapura, Malapanagudi, Nagalāpura, Sale-tirumalamaharayapura, Tirumaladēvi-ammaṇa Pattana, Chikkawādi etc.

Kamalāpura, a sixteenth century Vijayanagara township was developed during the reign of Krishnadevaraya. In addition to the constructional activities within the Capital City proper, emperor Krishnadevaraya also built a number of suburbs to the south of the Capital City at some distance. An epigraph of AD 1531, states that it was called by the name Kamalapura.¹ The place between the east of Kamalāpura and Varadarājammaṇa-Pattana was known as Koṇḍamarasayya-pālyā, during the time of king Achyūtaraya.² Another inscription of A.D. 1541³ refers to Kamalāpura and also to the big and never drying tank of this suburb.

The present village Kaddirāmpura has few things to say, but during Vijayanagara times this suburb had much prominence and appears to have been dominated by the Muslim community as testified by wide range of the remains of cemetery in south-west part of the place. Dēvaraya II was the first Vijayanagara ruler who recruited the Muslim archers and cavalry men in the royal army. Two tombs are found here. One of the inscriptions there refers to the name of Sultan Shayiru Pirige Babaya.⁴ There the largest one, is

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.533

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.535

³ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.245; A.R.No.16 of 1889

⁴ Kannada University Epigraphical Series, Vol.III, No.227; V.P.R No.150 of 1984-87.

facing the road and the smaller is situated to the west. Both tombs exhibit the Deccan style of Islamic architecture.

Another suburb of Vijayanagara times was Malapanagudi. Sangama ruler Devaraya I established a settlement around Malapanagudi in the beginnings of the 15th century, with a temple for god Mallikarjuna. During the rule of Tuluvas it was further developed. A strikingly octagonal well is seen on the outskirts of this suburb. An inscription of AD 1412 of Devaraya I's period¹ refers to it as '*Malige-Kupa-arama*', which means well-cum-rest house with a roof over it. This suburb was an important trading centre linking it with western coastal towns like Basrur, Bārakur, Goa etc. This interesting well is situated at the cross road routes of Bisilahalli valley and the other one of the western valley. Very near to the well there is a monumental gateway. Perhaps through which the travelers were allowed to come in and go out, after being thoroughly checked by the customs authorities.

The present Anantasyanagudi village was originally called Sale Tirumalamaharaya-Pura or Sale Tirumalaraya-Pattana. This suburb was established by the emperor, Krishnadevaraya in the honour of his son, Tirumalaraya, and named it after him in the year A.D. 1524. He built here a temple for the god Anantapadmanābha. An epigraph of dated AD 1524 and

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.436
(Western valley is none other than the one which is seen beyond present Hosapete; while the other one is leading towards the present Sandur).

inscribed on the walls of this temple refers to this suburb.¹ This inscription also states that emperor Krishnadēvarāya granted a number of villages for upkeep of the temple and appointed priests for conducting worship. Facing north the temple is in colossal proportions and might have been originally a large temple complex with many minor shrines and *Mantapas*, of which only a few are seen. The temple has a massive *sikharā* of vaulted type.²

The present village Nagenahalli, to the north of Anantasyanagudi was originally called Nagaladēvi-Pura or Nagalāpura. This is another township or suburb named after his mother by emperor Krishnadēvarāya. There an inscription in the precincts of temple Ranganātha states that emperor Krishnadēvarāya donated this township to a Brahmin, Ranganātha Dīkshita for the merit of his mother Nagaladēvi, on Sunday, 9th of November, AD 1516.³ Ranganātha Dikshita in turn constructed a tank and named it as Nāgasamudra, and a Saiva temple Nagesvara, and a Vishnu temple Nāgēndrasayana, and made some grants for the merit of the emperor's mother. Then this township was declared as 'Nagaladēvi-Pura Agrahara', by including some more privileges and grants to the Brahmin community.

¹ A.R. on SI Epigraphy, 1922, No.683

² Devakunjari D. – Hampi, ASI, New Delhi, 1998 (4th Ed.), p.70

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.504

Thus, this suburb enjoyed the status of an *Agrahāra* under the emperor Krishnadevaraya.

During medieval times, the present town Hosapete, which is to the south-west of Vijayanagara City, was not only a suburb but also an entrance gate to the imperial Capital City. Hosapete, the very name of the town indicates that it was a ‘new market’ or ‘new bazar’ which must have extended as a part of the Capital City and flourished as a suburb like Nagalādēvi-Pura and Sale-Tirumalamaharāya-Pura. The distance between Hampi and Hosapete is not more than 12 kms.

During the period of Krishnadevaraya this area was developed as a new suburb under the name Tirumalādēvi-Pattana. This new township was developed around the present Sannakki-Veerabhadra temple, and was named after Tirumaladevi one of the queens of Krishnadevaraya. This is recorded in an inscription located in the temple.¹ Another inscription found at *Valmiki-kēri*, near the Assistant Commissioner’s office also gives the same information.² These two inscriptions also refer to the temples of Tiruvengalanātha and Sri Gouresvara, and the grants made to the temples built in the Tirumalādēvi-Pattana. Particularly the inscription at Sannakki-Veerabhadra temple refers to some grants made by Kampadeva-arasa to the temple Sri Gouresvara. This shows that originally this temple must have

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.539

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.573

been dedicated to god Sri-Gouresvara, a popular deity of the business community. Probably the area around Sannakki-Veerabhadra temple must have been the Bazar with the name 'Sannakki-Pete', and this present temple, originally the temple of Sri Gouresvara. In course of time, after the fall of Vijayanagara, perhaps the idol of Veerabhadra was consecrated in the temple. In fact it is very interesting to note that the above two inscriptions make reference to the trading community '*Setti-Pattanada-Svamigalu*' of Tirumaladevi-Pattana, Varadarājammana Pattana and Krishnapura, and these two inscriptions are found in Hosapete, a business area of Vijayanagara times.

An inscription of the sixteenth century refers to a part of Hosapete as 'Chikkavadi'.¹ In the initial days this area must have been called Chinnadevi-vada, Chikkadevi-vada, Chikka-vada, Chikkavadi, all conveying the same meaning. This suburb must have been founded and named after his another queen, Chinnadevi by Krishnadevarāya. It may be recalled here that by this time emperor Krishnadevaraya had already founded 'Nagaladēvi-Pura' in the name of his mother; Sale Tirumalamaharaya Pura in the name of his son, who attained premature death as a minor without succeeding to the throne; and Tirumaladēvi-ammana-Pattana named after one of his principal queens. The

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.636

Portuguese traveler, Nuniz writes that “Krishnadēvarāya had much affection on Chinaadevidy (Chinnadēvi). This king built a city in honour of this woman”.¹ Some inscriptions throw welcome light on the aspect that whenever the emperor Krishnadēvaraya visited sacred centres he made grants and in the records he also mentioned the names of these two favourite queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadēvi. He also got three statues of himself and his two queens made of metal in standing position with raised and folded hands and fixed in front of the god Venkatesvara at Tirupati.

Hosapete was on the main road from Vijayanagara to the western coastal area or Barakuru-rājya and other important towns like: Basarur, Bhatkal, Malpe, Mangalore, Goa etc. These port towns had brisk trade with western countries. All these facts show that the present Hospet must have been a great business centre in the days of Krishnadēvaraya.

Tirumaladevi-Pattana, Nagaladēvi-Pura, Sale-Tirumalamaharāya-Pura, and Chikkawadi together formed Hosapete meaning ‘New Market Area’ i.e., the modern Hosapete town. These four townships were founded by Krishnadevarāya and all these were within the radius of three kms from the centre of the present town of Hosapete. Even Paes writes that “the route from Hosapete (New Market Area) to Vijayanagara was a wide and busy street with a bazar, many houses and trees”.² Because of the rapid

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, pp.363-364.

² Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.253

development, this modern town contains no traces of its past glories. But it has played an important role as business centre in relation to the imperial Vijayanagara City.

The Vijayanagara City did not develop and expand overnight. The growth and development of the city was gradual, and major factors like religious developments, geographical conditions, political events, commercial activities were responsible for the growth and prosperity of the Capital City. The *Puras* and suburbs were the extensions and different parts of the imperial capital. Under the patronage of Sangama and Tuluva rulers in particular the city expanded and grew into many *Puras* and attained great prosperity and splendour in all spheres of life.

The gradual additions of these *puras* and suburbs contributed to the extent of City. All these new townships were founded by the kings to facilitate the needs of the subjects. In connection with this Nuniz writes, thus “In his order to the people this town (Nagalapura) King Krishnadevaraya ordered all the chiefs of his kingdom to build themselves palaces therein, and so they did”.¹ The other chronicler from Portugal, Paes recorded about the City that “there are many temples in every street, and in this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of great trade.

¹ Ibid., p.363.

The people in this city are countless in number. This is the best provided city in the world".¹

These *puras* and suburbs were the nerve centres of the capital. They played a vital role in the social, economic, religious and cultural life of the people. The festivals and fairs undoubtedly showed the material prosperity of the people and the City. Paes observes that fairs were held everyday in different parts of the City as seen every Monday at Krishnapura, on every Tuesday at Achyūtapura, and on every Friday at the Metropolis.² Because of such periodical fairs the economic activities in these *Puras* became brisk and professionals and merchant communities settled in such *Puras* and carried on their trade and commerce.

The temples and other religious institutions of these *puras* acted as centres of culture, tradition and rich heritage. The temples of the *Puras* were not merely houses of prayers and worship, but played an important role in promoting social, religious and cultural life of the people.

The genesis and the growth of *puras* and suburbs in the city reveal that in medieval times socio-economic, religious and cultural activities gained prominence. The liberal patronage extended by the rulers of Vijayanagara empire provided security to the life of the people. Hence, people started to migrate towards city seeking better prospects in all walks

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, pp.256-257

² Ibid. p.256

of life. Because of the prosperity and vastness of the empire there was a big army in the capital. The vast army, the great Royal Centre and the flourishing trade and commerce provided ample opportunities to the people who migrated and settled here. People of different sects, casts and creed engaged themselves in different professions in Vijayanagara City. Muslims were appointed in the army and European visitors and traders who were Christians, started to live peacefully within the localities. Thus, communal harmony was never affected barring few minor incidents which were settled by the kings amicably. Thus, these *puras* and suburbs systematically and greatly helped the development of the city proper and avoided crowding and in congestion in any part of the city. As a result of this, foreign visitors described Vijayanagara City as a well planned prosperous city.

CHAPTER-IV

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY

The Vijayanagara city gradually expanded in its size and shape. During the period of Krishnadēvarāya, the total area of the capital city was 25 Sq.km. By the end of Krishnadēvaraya's rule the city had a number of *Puras*, with a huge temple complex in every *Pura*. Really speaking the *Puras* were the settlements of common people. Thus, the Vijayanagara city consisted of the royal enclosure and the settlements of common people. The Vijayanagara kings showed interest in building palaces, watchtowers, great baths, Mahanavamidibba, open platforms and entertainment structures like Lotus Mahal and tanks within the royal enclosure for the use of the members of royal family. So, this royal enclosure as its name suggests meant only for royal men and women. Hence, this area was directly under the supervision and management of the palace. The administration of the city was the responsibility of the municipal body. Throughout ancient India municipalities played an important role in the administration of towns. Ancient capital cities in Karnataka like Banavasi, Bādāmi, Malakhed, Kalyana and Dwarasamudra enjoyed a systematic administration of municipalities. For a study of municipal administration epigraphical sources throw flood of light about on position and functions of the *Pattanaswami*, civic amenities, taxes collected and the social services rendered by the

merchant guilds. As far as the Vijayanagara City was concerned the inscriptional sources are very few for the reconstruction of the history of municipal administration. But the literary sources and foreign accounts give indirect references to the municipal administration in the Vijayanagara City. Besides the Vijayanagara City there were several cities in different parts of the Vijayanagara empire, where the municipal bodies undertook the development of roads in front of temples, construction of shop-stalls, supply of drinking water, provision of rest houses, and feeding houses clearly indicating how well developed was this municipal administration in the urban areas.

Creation of Extension Areas:

For the first time in the history of Karnataka, one notices a number of extension areas in the Vijayanagara City. A careful observation of the emergence and growth of *Puras* like Virupākshapura, Vitthalapura, Krishnapura, Nagalāpura, Achyūtapura, Sale-Tirumalarayapura, shows that the Vijayanagara city gained importance and spread equally in different directions like present cities, the Vijayanagara city was not overcrowded with population. Religion played an important role in the allround development of the City. The temple was the heart of the *Pura*. The roads leading to this temple were well constructed with stone slabs. This was possible only by the local municipal body. Foreign travellers like Nicolo-

Conti, Abdur Razzak, Paes and Nuniz mentioned about long and large, broad and beautiful roads. They further mentioned that the *Nagara* was mainly a commercial corporation. As an administrative body it was specially interested in commerce and industry. In modern times the development of the industries and commerce do not come under the purview of the municipal administration but in the Vijayanagara times numerous industries like- oilmills, textile, leather tanning, silk cloth dyeing, sugar, metal industries, weapon industry were fully managed by the municipalities. Because they wanted to earn good revenue out of such industries.

Even trade and commerce and establishment of markets in the main streets of the *Pura* were managed by municipalities, in which the leading merchants of the locality controlled the administration through their guilds. As in ancient Karnataka, even during the Vijayanagara period different guilds were formed in the city, which promoted trade and commerce. As the city was thickly populated and it was prosperous, many foreign merchants developed trade contacts with Vijayanagara City. Precious stones, silk cloth, salt, sugar, were brought to the city from different parts of the empire. Thus, trade, commerce and industry flourished in the City. The foreign travellers in their accounts have mentioned about the brisk trade carried out in the Vijayanagara City.

The inscriptional evidence shows that the administration of different suburbs was in the hands of the Mayors called *Setti Pattanasvami*. A record of A. D. 1535 at Hosapete refers to the *Setti Pattanasvamis* of Tirumaladeviyavara Pattana, Varadarajammana Pattana and Krishnapura.¹ The heads of the towns were known by different names like, *Ubhayanādēsi*, *Pattanasvāmi*, *Mahavaddavyavahāri*, *Pattaviyavari*, *Setti*, *Svami*, *Prithvisetti*, *Purapati*, *Nagaresvara*, *Pattanādhisvara* and *Mahaprabhu*.² The *Pattanasvāmi* or *Setti* was probably the head of the all the mercantile corporations in the city.

The heads of the town convened the fairs in the different parts of the Capital City. The expenses of such fairs were met by collecting taxes from merchants. Municipalities fixed the taxes on shops in the bazars. The taxes were collected even from the weaving community also, who were in large number. The leading merchants of the town were conferred with titles and honours.

The town assembly was called by different names like ‘*Nakara*’³, ‘*Nakhara*’, ‘*Nagara-Samuha*’, or ‘*Samuha*’. The town assembly was a representative body and guarded the interests of the local people. The paramount power of the high officials of the state ordinarily did not interfere

¹ SII, Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.573

² Venkataratnam A.V. Local Government in the Vijayanagara Empire, p.111

³ Ibid., p.115

with the rights of this assembly. Remission of taxes or making gifts took place with its permission. There was a strong sense of oneness among its members. Its members were known as *nagarattar*.¹ The *nagara-karanattar*² and the *nagara-madyastha*³ were among the officers of the *nagara*. The city unit was administered by a council whose members were known as *Nagara swamulu* or *Pattana svamulu* or *Nagaresvara*. The council would meet in the palace of the *Nagaresvara* and the members were properly seated. The place of the meeting was known as the *mukha-mantapa*.⁴ Invitations were issued to the representatives of *Puras* to attend the meeting through a secret agent. Punishments were given to the members who did not turn up to the meeting. The chief of the assembly was known as *Mahimasetti*.

The *Pattanasvāmi* not only held charge of the collection of taxes in the city but also he had a voice in revenue administration.⁵ The consent of the *Pattanasvāmis* was taken while making land grants. *Pattanasvāmi* also made liberal gifts to temples and made other charities as revealed in epigraphs. An epigraph dated A.D. 1535, found near the Assistant Commissioner's Office, Hosapete, mentions that Abbaraja Timmapa, an agent of the *Pradhana Tirumalarāya* made a gift of the *mulavisa* (cess) with the consent of the *Setti-Pattanasvamis* of Tirumaladeviyara-pattana,

¹ S.I.I., Vol.VIII, No.68

² S.I.I. Vol.XX, No.592

³ S.I.I. Vol.XX, No.592

⁴ Basavaraja K.R. – (Ed.) The Vijayanagara Urbanity, Hospet, 1978, p.61

⁵ Ibid.

Varadarājammana-pattana and Krishnāpura, all these were different suburbs of the City of Vijayanagara.¹ In many records of the City, it is stated that *pattanasvāmis* gifted the income of some shops for the maintenance of temples and for the service of local gods. For example, An inscription found near *Kotisankaradevara Bagilu*, records the donation of the income from a shop for lighting a lamp to god Mallikarjuna by *Setti Pattanasvami*.² Similarly another epigraph inscribed on a slab lying in the *mantapa* near the fort on the way from the royal centre to the Matanga hill, corresponding to date A.D. 1525, mentions the donation of income from a shop to the temple of Adinarayanadeva for its maintenance by the *Pattanasvami*.³

Functions of the Municipality:

The Municipality was established to provide basic civic amenities like drinking water, good roads, sanitation, education, and security.

Water supply and Drainage System:

In Vijayanagara City supply of drinking water was considered as the most important duty of the city administration. For the first time in medieval Karnataka a vast city with many *Puras* and suburbs had emerged. It was not only the capital city but also a religious centre, a centre of trade and

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.573

² VPR No.82 of 1984-87; KUES-III, No.248

³ KUES-III, No.291; VPR, No.91 of 1984-87

commerce, which attracted merchants from different parts of the empire and the world at large. As the city was densely populated a lot of care had been taken to construct tanks, wells and ponds. Several epigraphs and archaeological remains help us to know the work undertaken in this regard. For example, an inscription dated A.D. 1410 found near the Kadalekalu Ganesa temple states that providing drinking water to men and animals was considered as important social responsibility.¹

Tanks, wells, ponds, dam and the river Tungabhadra were the main sources of water supply to Vijayanagara City. Hence, there was a systematic network of water supply scheme to the entire City. The river Tungabhadra was perennial stream. Even during summer water was supplied to the tanks constructed in different parts of the City through pipelines. This is recently found in one of the extension colony of Hosapete.

Tanks:

Tanks in and around Vijayanagara served multi-purposes. The water stored in tanks, reservoirs was meant not only for agricultural requirements but also for other domestic purposes and religious functions. Hence, elaborately built beautiful temples on the banks of tanks or closeby can be seen in the city. For instance, the *Manmatha Honda* or tank which serves

¹ S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.267; KUES-III, No.69

even today the Virupaksha temple is a notable one. The Balakrishna, the Vitthala, and the Tiruvengalanatha tanks were built all in the same way and in the first half of the 16th century A.D. There are numerous references to such tanks in the Vijayanagara City. A tank was constructed in the newly created Nagalapura and named it as Nagambika-samudra to commemorate the memory of the king's mother Nagalādevi. This tank was built by the priest Ranganātha Dikshita in A.D. 1516 as recorded in an inscription found at Ranganatha temple in the present village of Nagenahalli.¹ Further, the state authorities showed much interest to supply water in and around the fast expanding capital city. King Krishnadevarāya constructed a big reservoir near the capital city to provide good water in the newly built city. In this regard the emperor was assisted by a certain Portuguese Joaodella Ponte, who was sent by the Governor of Goa. Even Nuniz refers to this tank.² Even today it is called '*Rāyara-kere*', situated in the southwest part of the present town Hosapete.³

An inscription dated A.D. 1534 found to the South of Achyutaraya temple states the existence of '*Bhupati-Kere*'.⁴ This tank is also referred by the other inscriptions of a *mantapa* at Matanga-hill⁵ and of Balakrishna

¹ S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.504

² Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.364-365

³ Manjunath Bevinakatti (Ed.) *Vijayanagarada Samskritika Ayamagalu (Kan)* , Hospet, 1997, p.43

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.564; KVES-III, No.132

⁵ VPR.No.43 of 1983-84

temple.¹ The biggest tank of the Vijayanagara city is Kamalapura tank. This tank is referred to in an epigraph of the Pattabhi Rama temple.² Arrangements were made to serve the varied needs of the residents of the metropolitan city, particularly those who lived within the citadel area. There is enough evidence to show that there was a good network of open channels and sealed earthenware pipelines which distributed water to the palace and other buildings situated in this area. The same inscription of the temple refers to the tank of Anantapura.³ Another inscription found at Malyavantahill refers the Krishnarayatasamudra.⁴ Yet another epigraph found at Prasanna-Virupaksha refers to a Ramapura tank in Kaddirampura.⁵ Another tank was constructed by Nala-Timmana-Boyi for the merit of Chikkaraya. It is referred in an inscription dated A.D. 1539 found at Sitarama Tanda to the east of Kamalapura.⁶ Ramasagara tank and Bukkasagara tank though situated outside the city, the purpose of the tanks was to supply water to the city and its suburbs.

Wells:

Wells were also dugout by individuals near temples, mosques and gateways. Two inscriptions dated A.D. 1377 and A.D. 1390 located towards

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.245; AR No.16 of 1889

³ KUES-III, No.132; S.I.I. Vol.XVII, No.17

⁴ VPR of 1984-87, No.129

⁵ Ibid. No.89

⁶ Ibid. No.145, KUES, III, No.348

the west of the Hēmakūṭa mention that a devotee called Nāgappa built a well.¹ In a similar way another well was constructed at the end of the *Rathabidi* of the Virupāksha temple. In inscriptions it is mentioned as Mahadēvi-Akka-Bhavi.² There was another well called Benakana Bhavi near Ganesa statue built by an individual called Dēvarāya in A.D. 1411.³ Similarly an inscription found at the mosque near the *Singārāda Hebbāgilu* mentions that Ahmed khan built a well in A.D. 1439⁴ for the merit of his king Dēvarāya II. So this clearly shows that individuals were kind to visitors who were coming to the city. Similarly Pilikunchalaka, son of Kabiruravuta constructed a well.⁵ A well called Aresankara Bhāvi was constructed near Aresankakara Bāgilu⁶ and also near Udayagiri Bāgilu in the Vijayanagara city. Two wells called Linga Bhāvi and Ranganātha Bhāvi were constructed near Betekarara Hebbāgilu.⁷ A woman constructed a well near Sarasvati temple.⁸ So, the construction of wells near the gateways reminds one the wells constructed along the highways during the period of Asōka in ancient India. The construction of wells near the gateways were meant for the use of merchants as well as animals and for the benefit of travellers. Proceeding

¹ VPR, 1984-87, Nos.26 and 27

² VPR No.38 of 1984-87; KUES-III, No.106

³ VPR No.15 of 1983-84; KUES-III, No.296

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.447; A.R.No.18 of 1904

⁵ VPR No.99 of 1984-87; KUES-III, No.309

⁶ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668

⁷ VPR Nos.107, 108, 110 of 1984-87

⁸ ARIE, 1938-39, No.B444

towards Hosapete from Vijayanagara city, an interesting well is seen on the outskirts of the suburb Malapanagudi. An inscription dated A.D. 1412 found at Mallikarjuna temple describes it as *Malige-Kupa-arama* i.e. well-cum-rest-house with a roof. This octagonal well was established here to serve the needs of travellers. This well was built by an individual called Heggade Sovanna-Anna.¹ Besides wells ponds also were built for the benefit of people and animals.

All these examples referred to above show that the individuals and the city administration considered providing water as their sole responsibility. For royal enclosures the kings made their own arrangements by constructing wells and tanks in their enclosures. They invited Portuguese hydraulic engineers from Goa.

The stepped tank constructed near Mahānavamidibba was the best example. There was the channel system to supply water to this tank from another tank. And also there was a provision to supply water to the Queen's Bath situated near Mahānavamidibba.

Troughs:

In addition to wells, there were many troughs through which water was supplied. An epigraph inscribed on a water trough and kept now in a

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.436

mantapa of the Kamplimatha in the Virupāksha Bazar mentions that this was caused by Abarāju Timapa.¹ Near Kōdanda-Rāma temple, another stone water trough can be seen, on this it is stated that this was caused by Kattalebayya son of Tulubanavāsi.² Another stone water trough is located in the northeast of Mālyavanta hill i.e. on the right bank of *Turthu Kaluve*. This trough was built by a woman by name Obayavve, for the service of god Raghunātha.³

Anicuts:

The Vijayanagara City was substantially expanded during the time of Bukka II and Dēvarāya II. The urgent need was to arrange for the supply of potable water to the Capital City and its suburbs. In order to meet that need as well as other requirements king Bukka II arranged for the construction of an anicut across the river Tungabhadra about three kilometres to the north of Virupāksha temple of Hampi and also the right bank canal to carry water from this anicut, called ‘Turthu Kāluve’ or ‘Turthu canal’ and sometimes as *Turthuanicut*.⁴ In many epigraphs *Turthu Kāluve* is mentioned as ‘*Hiriya Kaluve*’,⁵ it runs through the ruined site of the Capital city. The course of the canal and its distributory channels, seen even now prove the efficient service

¹ VPR No.33 of 1984-87

² KUES-III, No.139; A.R.No.702 of 1922

³ VPR No.128 of 1984-87

⁴ Kotraih CTM – Irrigation System under Vijayanagara Empire with Special Reference to Anicuts across the river Tungabhadra – Vijayanagara Heritage, Hospet, 1997, p.64.

⁵ S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.226

rendered by the builders to the residents, their gardens and other agricultural lands in the part of that great metropolitan city.

In this connection chronicler Nuniz made some interesting observations that the king brought in to city a large river which was at a distance of five leagues away from the city. This water supply proved much useful to the city.¹ As a result of this people were able to develop gardens, orchards and large groves of trees and vineyards and many plantations of lemons, oranges, roses and fruit bearing trees.

In addition to this *anicut*, other *anicuts* that were constructed in the vicinity of Vijayanagara City on the right banks of the river Tungabhadra were the Hosur Anicut, Rāmasagara Anicut, Kampli Anicut, all on the right bank of the river Tungabhadra. Similarly on the left bank also *anicuts* were constructed. Such as Huligi Anicut, Sivapura anicut and Sannapura anicut.² These are known by the names of near by places.

The outstanding civil engineering achievement was the water supply and drainage system. Recent excavations in the royal enclosure bear ample testimony to this.³

The overall nineteen big and small tanks in the enclosures were fed by a net work of water channels. When all the tanks were filled up the water

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.301-302

² Kotraiah CTM, Op.Cit, p.66

³ Narasimhaiah B. – A Decade of Excavation at Vijayanagara (Hampi) – Early Vijayanagara Studies in its History and Culture (Ed.) Dixit G.S., Bangalore, 1988, pp.197-198

is not allowed to be wasted but it was taken to other enclosures through underground channels. Almost all the channels ran either underground or along the walls. The channels were invariably closed with slabs and water tight lime concrete. Significantly a well was dug at the point where the main aqueduct branched off. It throws light on the concern they had for water supply when there was no supply from the main source. Another example for their achievement was that the tanks got be filled up one after the other and if the water level in the first one went down that was automatically filled up. Such was the perfection achieved in water works.

The rain and waste water flowing from the Royal enclosure was collected through underground drains which were provided with manholes at regular intervals which further carried the water out of the Enclosure. On the southern side, a huge drain in between the enclosure and the wall enclosing the garden, was built to collect the water from small drains coming from the enclosure. But in the northern area many small drains directly carried the water out of the enclosure. All the drains were lined with slabs or lime-concrete as in the case of water channels.¹

Thus, the stone troughs, stone cistern, stone aqueducts water channels, ponds, tanks, stepped tanks, Queen's Bath, Octagonal Bath etc show the advanced technology to supply water to the residents in the

¹ Narasimhaiah B. – A Decade of Excavation at Vijayanagara (Hampi) – Early Vijayanagara Studies in its History and Culture (Ed.) Dixit G.S., Bangalore, 1988, pp.197-198

metropolitan city. Even after the lapse of more than five hundred years some of the water works are in good condition and serving the need of the people there.

Construction of Roads:

All the Puras within the City were connected by a good network of roads. Just in front of the temple complex, long and broad roads were constructed for the benefit of trade and commerce. Shops were built on either side of the roads. They were the centres of weekly markets. Foreign travellers, who visited the city have made particular reference to the beautiful roads there. Kanakadāsa in his *Mōhanatarangini* described the roads and shops established on either side. Besides these, as Vijayanagara was the capital city all the commercial centres, provincial headquarters were well connected by wide roads for administrative and commercial purposes. Paes observed that there were as many as thirty four roads in the royal enclosure.¹ Several gateways, interior small gates and wells enriched the beauty of the roads. Thus, the Pattana-svāmis had great civic sense to improve the transportation and thereby helped the mercantile community. There is enough of evidence to show that a large number of merchants came

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.265

from different parts of the empire for trading purpose.¹ Carts were used widely for transportation.

Education:

Temples and *Mathas* were imparting education. The guilds and merchants made liberal donations to spread education. *Agraharas* played a dominant role in imparting higher education. The *Pattana-svāmis* and the leading merchants recognised the talents of the Brahmin scholars and invited them to run *agraharas*. *Mathas* were under the control of Saiva saints where they taught *Saiva Purana*, Kannada language, literature, ayurvedic medicine etc. In those *Mathas* religious discourses were held for the benefit of people. Festivals celebrated on grand scale provided an opportunity to increase the prestige and revenue of the *Mathas*. Social ceremonies were also held in the *Mathas*. The flourished important *Agraharas* in the Krishnapura, Nelalahunise, Nagaladevīpura,² Kumaragiri.³ Even Abdur Razzak noticed the Brahmanical colleges and schools attached to the temples of the City.⁴ The educational centres were also under the control of municipality in the Vijayanagara City.⁵

¹ Ibid., pp.256-257

² Verghese Snila – religious Traditions at Vijayanagara – New Delhi, 1995, p.118

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.553, KUES-No.398

⁴ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.82

⁵ Akki B.N. – Municipal Administration in the Princely State of Mysore, Dharwad, 2001.

Construction of Houses for Foreigners:

The prosperity and splendour of Vijayanagara City attracted foreign travellers like Nicolo Conti from Italy, Abdur Razzak from Persia, Barbosa and Paes and Nuniz from Portugal. They stayed in the City as royal guests and travelled in different parts of the City and the empire. And it was the duty of the municipal authorities to provide them good accommodation, protection and also guidance. Lot of care was taken for their health and safe journey. So, for them good houses were constructed at the cost of municipal administration in the City and other parts of the empire. Similarly, foreign merchants from Arabia, China, and Portugal came to the City. For them also guest houses, food, security were provided. Centuries ago in the municipal administration of Pataliputra there was a separate committee to look after the foreign visitors and the committee constructed buildings for their stay. In the same way municipal authorities of the Vijayanagara City constructed guest houses for the merchants who came from different parts of the empire and the neighbouring territories.

Security to foreigners:

In modern times before Independence police department was under the control of municipalities. Maintenance of peace and tranquility and providing security to the city was the responsibility of the municipal administration. The Vijayanagara City was a conglomeration of different

communities including foreign merchants. There were many temples, mosques and secular structures. It really surprises one how the people of different faiths lived together and contributed to the peace and prosperity. Several inscriptions reveal that there were guards in each ward, who were called *Talavars*.¹ They acted as security guards and maintained civic security.

Sanitation:

The Vijayanagara City was a cosmopolitan city in character. Straight and wide streets, good shops, systematic source of water supply and a good network of communication were the outstanding features of sanitation. Provision of guest houses, feeding centres for merchants and foreigners reveals that municipal authorities gave attention to sanitation. Weekly markets were held in every Pura.² Festivals and fairs were held occasionally in all temples. Mahānavami festival, a royal festival³ attracted a large number of feudatory rulers and people from different parts of the empire. It was certainly a hard job to provide good hygienic facilities to a large number of people at the time of festivals. There is evidence to show that

¹ Venkataratnam A.V. – Op.Cit, p.120

² Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.256

³ Ibid. p.263.

they were able to check the spread of epidemic diseases. This was possible only through the proper care by the authorities even in modern times. Sufficient supply of water prevented such diseases in the city.

CHAPTER-V

INDUSTRIES, TRADE AND COMMERCE

In Vijayanagara city there were certain industries which were agro-based and they were textile industries, oil pressing, sugar and jaggery industries. Other important industries that were not based on agriculture were mining, leather work, carpentry, salt making, manufacture of perfumes etc.

Agrobased Industries:

The Vijayanagara city and its surrounding area was fertile. In and around the capital city water supply through irrigational facilities from the river Tungabhadra, anecuts, dams, tanks and wells promoted agriculture on a large scale. Commercial crops like cotton, sugarcane, groundnut were cultivated in the region. Small scale industries like textile, manufacture of jaggery and oil mills were developed to meet the demands of the city. Silk was brought to the city from the southern parts of the kingdom. Silk clothes were used widely by the king, members of the royal family, nobles, ministers and was also used to decorate the statues of gods and goddesses in temples and also to decorate elephants and horses at the time of festivals and royal processions. Famous dancers of the time used silk dresses, while performing dance at the royal court and in temples. This can be judged from

the native contemporary works and foreign travellers' accounts of Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz.

As cotton was produced on a large scale, textile industries emerged there. It was one of the foremost industries and which engaged considerable a number of artisans. Consequently a number of weavers, dyemakers, bleachers came and settled in the city. They had a separate colony in the city. They also formed an association which was known as weavers guild.¹ As this industry was very popular, many textile industries spread throughout the empire. The members of this guild played an important role in the administration of the city. They made liberal grants to temples. Silk yarn was brought to the capital city and the cloth of fine quality was made to meet this demand.

Certain factors during the period of Vijayanagara contributed to the growth of demand for cloth, especially of fine variety. Urbanization, observance of rituals, fairs and festivals and temples combined with the creation of new bureaucracy led to the development of textile industry. Prosperity of the empire and the lavish life style of the upper class increased the demand for fine cloth. In addition to fine clothes, carpets, coverlets, ropes, bed tapes, and other useful articles were manufactured from cotton. The cloth was also sold by weavers in the fairs, reference to which are made

¹ Mahalingam T.V. – Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, pp.28-29

in inscriptions.¹ Relation between the merchants and weavers throughout the period of the Vijayanagara empire was marked by co-operation.

Sugar and Jaggery Industry:

The articles of consumption made of agricultural products were many, most important one was sugar. Sugar industry was an important industry during Vijayanagara period. Sugarcane plantation gave rise to two industries, manufacture of jaggery and sugar. According to Barbosa, it was in a powdered form, for the people knew not how to make it into waves and they wrapped it up in small packets as it was in powder form.² Palm-sugar or jaggery was in great demand in the country.³ Inscriptions mention that sugar mills existed even in some parts of the empire.⁴ Sugar and jaggery were manufactured under less advanced with the limited technical skill. Peasants used hand mills for grinding the cane and sugar was often powdered by a team of bullocks and the juice was boiled in iron vats to obtain lumps of coarse sugar which was sometimes dried to obtain powdered sugar.⁵

There is some evidence in the native literary sources about the manufacture of jaggery in and around the Vijayanagara city in large scale.

¹ E.C. Vol.V, No.175

² Longworth Dames – Barbosa, Vol.I, p.189

³ Ibid., p.185; Vol.II, p.91

⁴ E.C., Sb.65; EV, VI, Kp.21 and 22

⁵ Chitnis K.N. – Socioeconomic Aspects in Medieval India, p.210

Since medieval times sugarcane was grown in this region on a large scale.

Oil Pressing:

Another important industry in the city that depended on agriculture was the oil pressing industry. It occupied an important place in the economy of the city and empire. Details available concerning the working and economies of this industry are however very few with regard to capital city. Oil was used in houses for cooking and lighting purposes and it was also used in temple rituals. Sum of money was deposited in the temple treasury with the stipulation of making certain offerings like lighting of lamps in temples.¹ Hence, many oil mills were established. Oil was extracted from four agricultural products namely, coconut, groundnut, gingelly and castor.² Inscriptions refer to different kinds of oil mills.³ Three kinds of oil mills were in existence. (1) *Kaigana* or hand mill (2) *Yattugana* or oxen mills i.e., where ox was used to press the oil (3) *Mettugana* or tread oil mills. Oil pressing was exclusively undertaken by the community called *Gānigars*.

Oil industry was encouraged by a religious belief that whoever donated oil or an oil mill would attain merit. This belief had immense impact on the production of oil. In course of time, the producers of oil

¹ Inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya from AD 1490 to AD 1531 (Ed) by – V.Vijayaraghava Acharya, Vol.III, p.11

² S.I.I. Vol.VI, No.261

³ E.C. Vol.III, No.134

namely *ganigas* acquired lot of wealth as indicated by the construction of several temples and donations made to temples. They also had an association through which often they donated oil to temples.

The oil crushing industry was subjected to a number of taxes levied by the state. Epigraphs of the period refer to the taxes levied on oil-mill known as *Ganasidhaya*.¹ It was also a practice that each oil mill was required to bear an official stamp and for offering this stamp the government collected a tax.² The oil mongers community was one of the industrial communities of Vijayanagara times and they formed themselves into a closely knit corporate body and played an important role in the socio-economic life of the capital city.

Manufacture of Weapons:

The rulers of Vijayanagara extended their empire not only in Karnataka but also in Andhra, Tamilnadu and Orissa. Especially during the rule of Devaraya II, Krishnadevaraya and Ramaraya, a large army was maintained. Often they were in conflict with the Bahmani Sultans. So, a large number of weapons like spears, bows and arrows, swords, daggers, shields, javelins, battle axes with shaft were manufactured on a large scale.

¹ KUES-III, No.74; S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

² E.C. Vol.III, No.136

So, metal workers were engaged large numbers in the manufacture of war weapons.

These weapons were manufactured in the capital city under the strict vigilance of the king's officers. As the empire was vast in size, the rulers appointed a number of feudatories to administer different parts of the empire. Paes writes that the bows were very neat and feathered.¹ Metal as well as leather shields were in use. The growing weapon industry increased the demand for the service of smiths. In fact iron ore was mined to a considerable extent around the capital and it is said there was a factory at Kuditini near the capital city.² Generally the king appointed his trusted officers and servants to transport these materials to the feudatories.

Manufacture of Perfumes:

Another important industry was the manufacture of scents. Rich people and members of the royal family used perfumes for fragrance. They anointed themselves after their bath with perfumes made out of sandalwood, aloes, camphor, musk, saffron and kneaded with rose water.³ All these items were available in the capital in large scale.⁴ Women used to apply saffron or

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.276-277; pp.327-328

² Gururajachar S. – Karnataka Darshana, pp.71-72; Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnataka, p.82

³ Barbosa – Vol.I, p.205

⁴ Ibid. – p.203

musk to their breasts in the winter season.¹ Kanakadāsa in his *Mohanatarangini* refers to the houses where perfumes were manufactured.²

Leather Industry:

Yet another important industry was the leather industry. Though direct evidence for the survey of technology in Vijayanagara city is meagre, some sparks of information can be had from the native and foreign accounts.

During the festival occasions, annual car festivals and *Mahānavami* festival, a number of animals were sacrificed for the deities. Pingali Suranna in his *Kalapoornodayam* gives a vivid description of such sacrifices.³

Leather was used to make a variety of things like footwear, agricultural requirements, industrial goods, instruments of music and arts, domestic articles and goods in the military camps.⁴ Wearing the footwear was usual besides being a fashion. Contemporary works like *Amuktamālyada*, *Kalāpoornodayam* and the writings of Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz give vivid description of a variety footwear. Barbosa noticed the practice of the people using rough shoes on their feet.⁵ Nicolo-Conti states that people wore sandals with purple and golden ties.⁶ Women belonging to

¹ Amuktamalyada – Canto.II, V.60

² Krishnasharma Betageri, Karnataka Jana Jeevana, Dharwad, p.85

³ Pingali Suranna – Kalapoornodayam, p.120

⁴ Ramachamdra Rao – The Economics of Leather Industry, Calcutta University Press, 1925, p.5

⁵ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.252

⁶ Major R.H. – India in the Fifteenth Century, p.22

rich families used to wear shoes with straps embroidered with silk and golden threads.¹

Leather was also used as dressing material. The *Amuktamālyada* refers to a *Maladasari* who wore a leather coat, a cap and a leather bag.² Leather was also used in the domestic life. A large number of articles such as buckets for drawing water and straps for fastening the plough, carts, ropes, leather bags, for holding agricultural implements were in use. During these days boats were also made of leather. A variety of basket boats were used not only in the Vijayanagara capital city but also in other parts of the empire. Paes gives an interesting account of these boats. During his visit to the capital they were used for crossing the Tungabhadra river. He says that people were ferried across the river in these boats which were called 'baskets' (*putti*) and they were made of cane and covered with leather. They could carry fifteen to twenty persons.³

The puppet show was one of the popular entertainments of the time. Puppets used in this art performance were made of leather. Skin and hide were made ready by tanners. Painting of different puranic characters required in the performance was made by artists. Some of sculptures of the city temples exhibit various types of musical

¹ Kridhbiramamu, p.162

² Amuktamalyada, Canto.66-68

³ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.259

instruments, which were made of leather. Such musical instruments were, teppets, *mridanga*, *tabala*, *nagari*, *kanjari*, *pamba*, *tammate*, etc. In forts and military camps leather was used for many things like shields, vests, waist belts, catapults. Water was also supplied in leather bags. Wrist-belts, sheaths, knife cases, stockings and saddles etc., were also made of leather.

Trade and Commerce:

The Vijayanagara empire a prosperous empire in South India in medieval period. Its prosperity and splendour attracted foreign travellers not only from Asian countries but also from European countries. The prosperity of the empire is due to the emergence of a number of industries in the different parts of the empire. Salt was manufactured along the western coast. And places like Honnavara, Bhatkal, Mangalore, Barakur, Ankola were not only important port centres but also leading salt producing places in the Vijayanagara empire, through which foreign trade was carried out. Salt manufactured in the coastal region was supplied to the interior towns by local merchants. As Vijayanagara was the capital city, generally there was more demand for salt. And from there it was distributed to the surrounding areas. Sugar was manufactured at Sravanabelagola. It was also brought to the capital city. In the same way cotton cloth manufactured in the Coimbatore region was also brought to the capital city. Silk had much greater demand in Vijayanagara city. Both local and foreign merchants

were engaged in silk trade. Especially foreign merchants in return for silk purchased spices, pepper, cardamom, cloves, etc., grown in the western ghat region on a large scale. Spices were in greater demand in the western market. Even the Arab merchants came to Vijayanagara for this trade only. Precious stones, jewels and gold were brought to Vijayanagara city from abroad. Thus, the city formed an important trading centre during the medieval period.

In the Vijayanagara empire many textile industries, particularly silk industries were concentrated in Coimbatore and Mysore region. Silk cloth was manufactured in traditional methods in these regions. Hence, the textile goods were brought to the capital city by merchants. Barbosa and Nuniz in their accounts and Kanakadāsa in his *Mōhanatarangini* have given description of the existence of cloth shops on either side of the main streets of each *Pura*. This shows that it was an important item of trade. And as it was used by all sections of the society, it attracted merchants from the different parts of the empire.

Salt was another important item of day to day life, being an article of great demand was produced on large scale near the coastal towns of Karnataka. Salt manufacture appears to have been a state monopoly. The right to manufacture salt at different places seems to have been leased by the

state to the highest bidders.¹ Salt merchants of the coastal region used to travel every nook and corner of the empire. Similarly, they came to the capital city for trade. As it is mentioned in various inscriptions, weekly markets were held on different days in different *Puras*. As such in market was held daily in the Vijayanagara City. Thus, selected merchants settled permanently in the City, who came from different parts of the empire to sell their goods and products. Thus Vijayanagara City developed into a trade emporium.

The contemporary epigraphs contain references to various kinds of taxes levied on purchases and sales of salt and the taxes were paid to the official called *Sunka Karnamulu* and *Sunka Peggadulu* who were in charge of the collection of those taxes. There was a *Lavanadhibkari* with the ministerial status, salt being the article of everyday consumption by the rich and the poor alike, the lease of the right to manufacture it and the taxes levied on its sale must have brought considerable revenue to the state.²

House-hold Articles:

House-hold articles of metal were manufactured on a large scale. Different vessels made of copper were in use. Articles like vessels, plates, bowls, basins of, small and big were manufactured by the brass makers and

¹ Mahalingam T.V. – Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, p.98

² Topographical List of Inscriptions of Bellary District, Vol.I, No.152

blacksmiths. Thus, the cottage industry employed a number of people both in manufacturing and selling. The manufacturers of these different items of vessels, bowls and basins travelled in all the *Puras* and nearby towns and villages to sell their ware.

In Vijayanagara city both wrought and unwrought metals, copper and quick silver were found in abundance.¹ Loads of iron were exported from the port of Bhaktal.² Existence of the deposits of ores gave rise to mining which in turn provided a lot of scope for its trade and commerce.

Jewellery:

Jewellery also formed an important occupation in the city. Ornaments made of gold, silver and brass were used by the people in their day to day life. The religious attitude of the people made them to give liberal donations to temples. So, to decorate the statues of gods and goddesses, chariots, temple elephants, horses, doors, gates inside the temple, pillars and also the pinacles gold, silver and brass were used. Especially during the time of fairs and festivals, such decorative ornaments and precious metal plates studded with precious stones and pearls used in the temples. The love for ornaments was common to all people of both sexes. The variety of necklaces, anklets and armlets were worn by both men and women. Jewellers made various

¹ Barbosa, Vol.I, p.203

² Ibid., p.189

designs of ornaments and articles, required by institutions and classes of people. Thus, jewellery trade also enriched the commerce prosperity of the city.

Inland Trade:

The Vijayanagara empire had inter-regional and intra-regional commercial contacts besides foreign trade. Inland trade flourished through a well organised network of merchant guilds and craft guilds. Development of agriculture and industry and the emergence of money economy in a big way paved the way for the growth of internal and external trade. The internal trade continued to be in the hands of the local or native merchants. They enjoyed the patronage of kings. The richer among them were encouraged to settle in the capital. So that they could supply the needs of the palace and the people of the capital city promptly.

There was no article or commodity that was not brought to the market in the capital city and attracted attention of the Rayas, nobles and the people. It is well known from the *Amuktamālyada* that every village had a fair of its own. The people of the neighbouring villages went to the fairs to purchase articles which they required or selling products which they produced or manufactured.¹ Inscriptions refer to the articles of Inland trade, which were

¹ *Amuktamalyada*, p.200

transported from one place to another.¹ Bales of cotton, cotton yard, silk, cereals like rice, ragi, jaggery, sugar, oil, salt, betel leaves and arecanut, dyes such as dammer and gallnuts, fruits, metals, such as iron, lead, tin and copper, manufactured goods like steel, chisels, cotton thread, and gunny-bags were taken on animals like pack-horses, bullocks, and asses were also on sale.²

An epigraph near the Bālakrishna temple reveals the name of a merchant by name Gandha Basavayya from Tirupati, who lived in the Capital City and he was a merchant of sandal wood paste.³ Another inscription near the Matangahill refers to a few some merchants of the City like Bammisetti, Baramisetti, and Ramasetti.⁴ Some other epigraphs of the capital city mention the names of other merchants like Chimmisetti, Ramisetti, Sayisetti.⁵ An inscription near Remmudiddi gate gives the names of merchants like Kamnisetti and Pichnariseti etc.⁶ The inland trade depended largely on the security provided by the state. But, even though the state provided them protection, traders maintained their own private personnel to protect them from robbers in dangerous areas.⁷ The internal

¹ E.I., VI, p.230; HISI, p.243

² Mahalingam T.V., Op.Cit, p.117

³ KUES-III, No.70; VPR No.71 of 1983-84

⁴ Ibid., No.120

⁵ KUES-III, No.304; VPR No.75 of 1984-87

⁶ Ibid., No.384

⁷ Mahalingam T.V. – Economic Life in Vijayanagara Empire, p.159

trade increased during the Vijayanagara period as references are made to the existence of as many as eighty major trade centres in the region. These cities and towns besides being temple towns were also commercial centres as merchants of various parts of the empire brought their goods to the regular fairs.

Bazars:

In the Vijayanagara Capital City there were many Bazars like Virupāksha Bazar, Krishna Bazar, Vitthala Bazar, Achyūta Bazar, Varadarājamanna Bazar, Malyavanta Bazar, and Pansupāri Bazar which were centre of commercial activities. Both the native and foreign merchants owned their shops here and sold the articles. It was the merchants guild that regulated the weekly markets in different *Puras*.

Kanakadāsa in his *Mōhanatarangini* called the Bazar streets as ‘*Sōma Suryavidi*’. Further, he says that there were numerous selling of innumerable items like betel leaf, sandalwood, flowers, perfumes, medicines, spices and dry fruits side by side. In the next street, the provisions were sold. Painters, tailors, craftsmen who worked on different metals, bangle sellers, goldsmiths, cloth merchants had their shops in the same street. On the other side, the merchants sold gold, rubies, pearls and other precious stones piled in heaps.¹ According to Paes every evening a fair

¹ Hiremath R.C. – *Mohanatarangini*, Dharwad, 1973, pp.24-27

was held in different parts of the city.¹ In one such fair horses, nags as well as citrons, limes, oranges, grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff were sold. In the metropolis and in the street of craftsmen every Friday the fair was held. Many other things such as fish, fowls, dried fish from the sea, and pigs were sold. Besides, there were weekly fairs in the streets of different *Puras* on particular days. An epigraph of A.D. 1545 states that Monday was the market day at Krishnapura and Tuesday was the market day at Achyūtapura.² The merchants who came from various parts of the empire brought many precious materials like rubies and cloths and every other sort of (thing) there was on earth.³ The markets were held on the respective *rathavidis*, which were about half a kilometre in length. Many shops of such kind were situated on either side of the roads.

Thus, these different bazars attracted traders from great distances and they were responsible for the periodic trade. Other articles of trade that entered the bazars were horses, bullocks, grains besides many others of a similar nature. In order to attract various merchants to bring their different articles to such bazars, concessions were shown to them.⁴ Abdur Razzak states that jewellers sold rubies, emeralds and diamonds openly in the bazars.⁵ Even Paes writes that streets and markets were full of laden oxen

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.255

² KUES-III, No.84; S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.266

³ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.255

⁴ E.C. X, Sg.No.112

⁵ Elliot and Dawson, History of India as told by its Own Historians, London, 1872, Vol.IV, p.107

without count and inside the ways of streets lived many merchants and there one could find all sorts of rubies, diamonds, emeralds, pearls and seed pearls.¹ Nuniz attests to the markets, which were always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, lime, pomegranate, jack fruit and mangoes.²

Foreign Trade:

The Vijayanagara empire for the first time in medieval times developed good contacts with foreign merchants like Portuguese and Arab. Barbosa in his account has made a good narration of the foreign trade how it passed from the hands of Muslims to the Portuguese.³ With the coming of Portuguese towards the close of the 15th century, this monopoly of the Muslim traders was broken. Even during the time of Praudhadevaraya till about the commencement of the sixteenth century, the horse trade was largely in the hands of Muslim traders.⁴ Bhatkal, Honnavara, Mangalore and Goa were the important harbours or ports at that time. The Ormuz ships were coming to Bhatkal with horses and pearls. Other imports were elephants, copper, coral, mercury, vermilion, chinasilk, and velvet. Elephants were imported from Ceylon and silk from China. The

¹ Paes in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit., pp.255-257

² Nuniz Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.375

³ Dixit G.S. – Economic Conditions in the Time of Krishnadeva Raya, VSCV, p.221

⁴ Nagaraju H.M. – Devaraya II and His Times, Prasaranga, Mysore University, Mysore, 1991, p.117

Vijayanagara rulers were the major purchasers of all these animals. The conquest of Goa by Portuguese affected adversely the trade of the Malabar ports. And the Portuguese dominated the entire horse trade with both Vijayanagara and Bijapur. Thus, the horse trade passed from the Arab and Persian merchants to the Portuguese merchants. Taxes were collected from foreign merchants, which was also a source of income to the state.

Articles like cloth, rice, iron, saltpetre, sugar and spices were exported to Portugal.¹ Some of the important port towns were Ankola, Calicut, Basrur, Barakur and Mangalore. Food grains were exported to Maldives Islands, Ormuz and Aden. Iron ore was purchased by the Portuguese. Sugar was exported to Ormuz. Ships came from Mecca to Bhatkal for spices.² Foreign trade was also there with Malacca, Pegu and Sumatra. Thus, foreign trade attracted a large number of merchants, both Indian and foreign merchants to purchase their required materials from the Vijayanagara market. Foreign trade greatly enriched the Vijayanagara City. The flourishing trade in the capital forced the rulers to connect different parts of the empire with the Capital City. So, there were roads running from Vijayanagara City to Sivanasamudram and Srirangapattana,³ from Vijayanagara to Adavani and Raichur;⁴ and from Vijayanagara to Udayagiri,

¹ Barbosa, Vol.I, pp.189-98

² Ibid.

³ S.K.Aiyangar – Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp.112-113

⁴ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.323

Kondavidu, Kondapalli, and along coast to Simhachalam and Srikuramum.¹

Towns of Tamilnadu like Kanchi, Chidambaram, Madhurai, Rāmesvaram and Dhanushkoti were connected with the capital.² The famous religious pilgrim centre Tirupati, Kalahasti and Tiruvannamalai were not only connected with the Vijayanagara Capital City but also with the other important towns of South India. The capital city was also connected with all the harbours including Goa.³

The foreign travellers have observed that the excellence of roads were excellent and the roadside facilities for travellers and traders between towns or fairs existed in those days. Conditions of trade both local and long distance had improved over the previous periods. This improvement benefited the Vijayanagara rulers and also the local business magnets.

An inscription of the time of Krishnadevarāya gives us an exhaustive list of vehicles used for transport purposes. They were the *Kavadis*, headloads, pack-horses, pack-bullocks, and asses.⁴ It is evident from this that men and animals were employed to carry the articles of merchants from place to place. Articles were carried over long distances by carts and pack-

¹ Mahalingam T.V. – Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, p.152

² S.K.Aiyyangar – Op.Cit, p.116

³ Dixit G.S. – Op.Cit, p.224

⁴ M.E.R. of 1915, No.18

animals.¹ Some times camels were used for transportation of produce.² The use of horses is also referred to in the *Amuktamālyada*.³

The state policy towards the improvement of trade and commerce can be understood from the *Amuktamālyada* where it is stated that a king should improve harbours of his country and encourage its commerce so that horses, elephants, precious gems and other articles were freely imported. He should arrange that foreign sailors who came to his country were looked after in a manner suitable to their nationalities.⁴ Being a great diplomat Krishnadevaraya suggested that merchants of distant countries who brought elephants and good horses must be attached to the king himself by providing them with daily audience, presents, and allowing decent profits. Then those articles would never go to the king's enemies.⁵

Such maxims were followed by the successors of Krishnadevaraya and thus, paved the way for good trade and commerce in the capital. Barbosa who visited the capital writes that there were many merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide there in as amongst those who come thither from outside, to

¹ Varthema – Travels – pp.179-180; Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.254

² Mahalingam T.V. – Op.Cit, p.153

³ Amuktamalyada, Krishnadeva Raya – Canto.II, V.96

⁴ Mahalingam T.V. – Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara, Pt.II, p.164

⁵ Mahalingam T.V. – Op.Cit, p.155

whom the king allowed such freedom that any man might come and go and live according to his own creed without enquiry whether he was a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice was observed to all, not only by the rulers but also by the people one to another.¹

Currency System:

The economic condition generally reflected in the currency system of the empire. The Vijayanagara rulers put in circulation various metal coins such as gold, silver, copper etc. They set an example by issuing different coins to the *Palegars* of Karnataka, Wodeyars of Mysore, Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan. These rulers followed the tradition of engraving the figures of gods and goddesses on coins. These give useful information on various aspects of life. These coins bore different symbols, figures, legends and were made differently in size and shape. As in ancient Karnataka Vijayanagara rulers collected taxes in both kind and cash. Coins were used on large scale to pay the taxes.

Harihara I issued an order to the people to pay tax compulsorily in the form of coins or cash instead of it being paid in kind.² So, in order to meet the demand and to mint new types of coins a number of mints were established. Proper care was taken to give definite shape, size and weight to

¹ Barbosa – Vol.I, p.202

² Dikshit G.S. (Ed) Early Vijayanagara Studies in its History and Culture, Bangalore, 1988, p.163

coins. A separate department of mints was established, which exercised control over minting operations. Officers were appointed to supervise the royal mints. As Vijayanagara empire was ruled by four dynasties each one of them engraved the figures of their respective deities on coins.¹ The Sangama rulers engraved the figures of Hanuman, Garuda, Nandi, Elephant, Uma-mahēsvara, Lakshminarayana, Brahma, Sarasvati and Narasimha. The Saluva rulers during their shortspan of rule could not concentrate their attention on issuing coins. Once again a new phase of issuing coins was heralded during the Tuluva period. Figures of lion, Venkatesvara, Balakrishna, Uma-mahēsvara, Nandi, Gandabherunda, Garuda, Lakshmi-Narāyana were engraved on different coins. Similarly the rulers of Aravidū dynasty issued coins bearing the figures of Sri Rama, Sanka, Chakra, Garuda, Varaha, Nandi, Hanumantha, and Venkatesa.

On the reverse side of the coins of the period we can see vividly legends. There Kannada, Telugu and Devanagari were used for writing the names of the rulers. Hukka and Bukka used Kannada language, Harihara II and Bukkaraya II used Dēvanagari whereas Praudhadēvaraya used Kannada on copper coins and Dēvanagari on gold coins. Similar tradition was followed even by Krishnadēvarāya. The last rulers of Vijayanagara used

¹ Panchamukhi R.S. – The Coinage of the Vijayanagara Empire Dynasties, Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, Dharwad, 1936, p.108

Telugu language.¹ On most of the coins the names of the rulers like 'Sri Pratapa Harihara, Sri Pratāpa Dēva Raya, Sri Pratapa Sadasivadeva Raya, Sri Tirumala Raya, Sri Krishnadeva Rāya etc are found in different languages.²

Value of the Currency:

The Vijayanagara coins varied in their weights depending upon the metal. Rulers issued coins of gold, silver and copper. The average weight of the gold coin was 52.7 grains. They were called *Varaha*. There seem to have been three varieties of the *Varaha*, namely, *ghattivaraha*,³ *doddavaraha*,⁴ and *suddavaraha*.⁵ During the time of Krishnadevaraya the gold coins like *varaha*, half *varaha* (Pratapa), quarter *varaha*, *Hana* (*Fanam*) $1/20^{\text{th}}$ of *varaha* existed. The Silver coins were called *Tar*, i.e. $1/60^{\text{th}}$ of *varaha*. Besides gold and silver coins copper coins were there known as *Jital* i.e., $1/90^{\text{th}}$ of *varaha*. The use of *Chakragadyāna* belonging to the period of Achyūtadevaraya was more in circulation.⁶ Numerous inscriptions and accounts of foreign travellers give many details these coins.

¹ Narasimha Murthy A.V. – The Coins of Karnataka, Archeology of Karnataka, Prasaranga, Mysore University, Mysore, 1978, p.390

² Ibid., pp.392-393

³ S.I.I. Vol.IV, Nos.274 and 279

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.VII No.108

⁵ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.262

⁶ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.262

During the Vijayanagara period, gold and copper coins seem to be more in circulation than silver coins.¹ The silver coins did not come into popular use. The reason was that in the empire there were several gold and copper mines, but silver was not available and had to be purchased for the issue of coin. The issue of currency of particular denomination was monopolized by the state. We get references to a multiplicity of coins, which were in use during the Vijayanagara times. In his interesting narrative Abdur Razzak who stayed in the City of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1443, during the reign of Dēvaraya II describes the mint and coins issued during the time.² And he writes that on the left side of the palace of the king there was a mint³ and this central mint was also an important department of administration. Even Varthema, Barbosa and Paes speak of the *varaha* which was in round shape.

Thus, the efficiency in minting the coins, engraving figures, writing the scripts reveal that a technically advanced minting centre and artisans worked together in making these coins. It helps a lot to know the extent of the empire, the extent trade and commerce, religious condition and finally the economic prosperity of the empire.

¹ Nagararaju H.M. – Deva Raya II and His Times, Mysore, 1991, p.124

² Narasimha Murthy A.V – Op.Cit., p.391

³ Vasundhara Filliozat – Op.Cit, pp.261-262

Guilds in the City:

As in ancient Karnataka even during the period of Vijayanagara guilds continued to play an important role in the commercial life of the people and towns. They were nothing but the assemblies of merchants of the town. It was a free and voluntary association of individuals. During Vijayanagara period there were guilds of various professions such as goldsmiths guild, weavers guild, cloth dyers guild, oil millers guild, potters guild, cobblers guild, barbers guild and washermen guild etc. It appears that there were at least eighteen such guilds in the empire. The emperor Krishnadevaraya in his *Amuktamālyada* refers to the guilds of weavers, goldsmiths, weavers of silk-cloth, *Kōmatis*, *Vaijatis*, gunny-bag makers, basket makers etc.¹ He also refers to the guild of salt manufactures at the coastal towns. The craftsmen as well as the mercantile groups in medieval South India were organised in corporations. Appadorai has used the term ‘Caste guilds’ to describe such corporations.² One of the epigraphs found at Hemakuta hill mentions some names of washermen like Kachenay, Boma, Machaya of Hampe etc., and they themselves have called ‘*Halaru of 120*’, probably a guild of their own community consists of 120 members.³

It was the interest of these different communities that led to the

¹Krishnadeva Raya – Amuktamalyada, Canto.IV, V.35

² Appadorai A. – Economic Conditions in South India, (AD 1000-1500), Vol.I, p.357

³ KUES-III, No.264

formation of guilds, gradually they enjoyed a number of privileges and co-operated in the political matters. Economically they were very sound. They used to give loans on interest to their respective members. The Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak noticed the existence of various guilds in the Vijayanagara city. According to him tradesmen and craftsmen had separate guilds and had their shops close to one another and the jewellers sold rubies, pearls and diamonds openly in the market.¹ Paes also gives the similar details in his account.² Thus, these guilds played an important role in the commercial life of the Capital City. As they had close contacts with different people they played an important role in the administration of the local area. They derived income from different sources such as contributions from the members, profit from the banking operations, participation in the tax forming system and income from the corporate property. These different guilds were representative in character and safeguarded the interests of the local people. Even the officials of the state never interfered with the rights of these guild assemblies.³ The prosperity of the guilds encouraged them to make liberal grants to temples and they also constructed tanks. There was no field of activity, political, economic and social, in which the guilds did not have their say.⁴

¹ Abdur Razzak in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.90

² Paes in Sewell Robert, Op.Cit, pp.255-257

³ Venkataratnam A.V. – Local Government in the Vijayanagara Empire, Prasaranga, University of Mysore, Mysore, 1972, p.110

⁴ Mahalingam T.V. – Economic Life in Vijayanagar Empire, p.34

In Vijayanagara city they were called by different names such as *Banajigas*, *Nanādēsi*, *Ubhayannadesi*, *Nagara*, *Nakhara*, *Vaisya*, *setti*, *Settiguttas*, *Bira-Vanijas*. An epigraph of the 16th century A.D. found at Hazara Rama temple street in one of the double storeyed *mantapas* mentions the name of the guilds as ‘*Vanijyavaisya nagara*¹’ etc. These guilds were self governing local bodies. The leaders of the guilds were known as *Pattanasvāmi*,² *Ubhayananādēsi*,³ *Mahavaddavyavahāri*,⁴ *Vaddabyavahāri*,⁵ *Patta-viyapari*,⁶ *Setti*,⁷ *Svāmi*,⁸ *Prithvi-Setti*,⁹ *Setti-Pattanasvāmi*,¹⁰ *Settina*,¹¹ *Purapati*,¹² *Nagaresvara*,¹³ *Pattanadhisvara*,¹⁴ and *Mahaprabhu*¹⁵ etc. Another inscription of A.D. 1532 found at Matangahill in the capital states that the merchant guild of dealers in Betel-leaf trade i.e. *Yeleya Mahanada Halaru* of Vijayanagara, with Parusaya as the head of this guild.¹⁶

¹ KUES-III, No.275

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Nos.516 and 618; E.C., X, Bg.72 and 83

³ MAR, 1919, p.33

⁴ E.C. X, KI, 73

⁵ MAR, 1928, No.88; E.C. V. Ag.68

⁶ E.C., IX, Bn.59

⁷ E.C. IX, Bn.96; E.C., X, Sd.122

⁸ E.C., IX, An.4

⁹ E.C. VIII, Sb.18

¹⁰ E.C. X, Bl.6

¹¹ E.C. VIII, Sb.428; MAR, 1926, No.119

¹² MAR, 1928, No.37

¹³ EC, IX, Bn.96

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ E.C., X, KI.73

¹⁶ KUES-III, No.III; VPR, No.20 of 1983-84

The *Pattanasvāmi* was the head of the mercantile community of a town. He levied and collected the revenues at the time of fairs.¹ And during the market days he collected taxes from different shops and from merchants. The guilds enjoyed certain powers to levy local taxes and they spent the collected taxes for some good purpose. At the time of donation of land the king generally took the consent of the *Pattanasvāmi*. An inscription of A.D. 1535 states that Abbaraja Timmapa, agent to the Pradhana Tirumalarāya made a gift of the *mulavisa* (cess) with the consent of the *Setti Pattanasvamis* of Tirumaladeviyara-Pattana, Varadarājammanna-Pattana and Krishnapura. All these were the suburbs and different areas of the Vijayanagara City.² In the innumerable records of the City, it is stated that the *Pattanasvāmis* gifted income of some shops for the maintenance and service of the local gods. For, instance, an epigraph near the *Huvinabagilu* and to the west of Akka-Tangiyara Gundu records the donation of a shop for lighting the lamp to god Mallikarjuna by *Setti Pattanasvami*.³ Similarly another inscription found in one of the *mantapas* on the way from the Royal Centre to the Mantanga Hill, corresponding to A.D. 1525, mentions the donation of a shop to the temple of Adinarayanadeva.⁴ Yet another inscription of the 16th century A.D. found near Hazara Rāma temple records

¹ Venkataratnam A.V. Op.Cit – p.114

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.573

³ KUES-III, No.248; VPR No.82 of 1984-87

⁴ KUES-III, No.291; VPR No.91 of 1984-87

that a *mantapa* was constructed by the mercantile guild to god Raghunatha.¹

On one of the inscriptions found on a rock at Hemakuta Hill, in the city it is stated there was a guild of washermen called-‘*Halaru-120*’. It also states that they constructed a temple to god Siva.²

The society in return honoured the *Pattanasvāmis* with the prestigious titles and honours. The *Pattanasvāmis* exercised some influence in the royal court. These associations acted as an intermediate bodies between the individual and the state, and contributed to the preservation of the democratic spirit. Thus, the age old institution played an important role in preserving the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the life.

Standard of Living:

The standard of living of the people in the Vijayanagara was very high. The economic condition of the capital city was comparatively higher than it was in other cities of the empire. In the Capital City noble class, including the ministers and soldiers, trading community , middle class and the labour class could be seen.

Noble Class:

This class included the king and the members of the royal family, ministers and other high officials and religious preceptors. All these people

¹ KUES-III, No.275; VPR, No.68 of 1983-84

² KUES-III, No.64; VPR No.28 of 1984-87

lived in the buildings, which were built within the royal enclosure. They enjoyed good status in society. They had a separate water supply system. They lived in good houses under security. The king of Vijayanagara according to Barbosa, had great and fair palaces, with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built, within them were wide open spaces with water tanks in great numbers..... In the city as well there were palaces after the same fashion where dwelt the great lords and governors.¹ Paes also describes the streets containing nobles' houses, houses of captains and other rich and honourable men, with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at.² They enjoyed their life amidst royal entertainments, such as dancing, music, wrestling, hunting, picnic with the royal family members etc.

Intellectuals also lived in the royal premises and they generally held discussions upon various subjects in the royal court. Thus, the nobles took the benefit of intellectual discourses. Their attires were rich and used various gold ornaments and precious stones. Often they had opportunity to share their views with foreign travellers. They took a leading part in celebrating fairs and festivals. The religious heads, astrologers, learned teachers, played an important role in the day to day life of these people. As they were living in the royal enclosure they enjoyed all facilities and luxuries of life. At night

¹ Barbosa, Vol.I, p.203

² Sewell Robert, Op.Cit, p.254

the members of the noble class used torches of oil, torches ranging from 4 to 12 according to their rank. The king, however, had 100 to 150 torches.¹

The Middle Class:

This class consisted of merchants, traders, agriculturists, artisans, weavers, artists, priests and other professionals. Tailors and some artisans served the people of all sections of the city. The living conditions of these people was lower than that of nobles and was higher than that of the common people. Generally, they lived in the *Puras* and played a crucial role in the socio-economic and cultural life of the City. Their religious privileges were protected by the king by constructing temples, conducting fairs and festivals. Some upper middle class merchants gave liberal donations for the construction of temples, *mantapas*, tanks, etc. Many merchants from other towns had come to the Capital City for better prospects. They had their houses in the *Puras*. Generally they had single storeyed houses with open verandah. They too used gold ornaments and wore medium quality dresses. They also took part in the city administration. They formed associations for the promotion of their professions. They also served in the royal army and in the royal court. These people paid taxes to the king.

¹ Nuniz in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit., p.380

The Commoners:

The people like labourers, basket-makers, rope-makers, cobblers, barbers, *dombars*, washermen, come under this category. Their economic conditions was not good. They had to lead their life on daily earnings. Their houses were small and they lived in the outskirts of the *Puras*. Though they lived outside the City, they were the part of the City. They could not contribute much towards the state revenue and also to the society. Even the foreign traveller Barbosa says that their houses were thatched, but none the less were very well built and arranged according to occupations in long streets with many open places.¹ The foreign travellers were struck by the insufficient clothing of the commoners. But however, no traveller has attributed the insufficiency of clothing to the poverty of the people.²

¹ Barbosa, Vol.I, p.202

² Dixit G.S. – Economic Conditions in the Time of Krishnadeva Raya, - Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, Dharwad, 1936, p.228.

CHAPTER-VI

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The first quarter of the 14th century was in fact a period of political instability and much social disturbances in South India. The establishment of Vijayanagara proved a turning point in the history of South India. The newly risen Vijayanagara power halted for more than two centuries, the inroads of Muslim power. As protectors of the land and promoters of the language, religion, property and subjects, the kings of Vijayanagara gave stability to society in the empire.

Urbanization as a historical process represented a typical level of social development in the Vijayanagara City. The society of Vijayanagara was based more not on kinship but on residence who belonged to diverse communities in the City. There was a close relationship and interdependence among the various communities living together for their mutual benefits. Thus, it paved the way for social interaction among such communities in the society, and led to a new orientation of various social groups within the social parameters.

The Vijayanagara society consisted of largely priestly class, warrior class, trading class, agricultural and other related classes of people.

The Vijayanagara rulers who ruled South India for nearly three centuries, considered it their duty to protect and promote traditional social

order based on *Varnashrama* system, as it can be seen in inscriptions e.g. ‘*Varnashrama Dharmagala Palisutta*’¹ and ‘*Sakala Varnashrama Dharmagalānu Palisutta*’.² In fact it was the main task of the Vijayanagara rulers to forge unity among the various castes and communities, that inhabited in the capital city. The interest of the kings in maintaining social order of the traditional castes is also seen in some of the verses in the *Jambuvati Kalyanam* of Krishnadēvarāya.³

Priestly Class:

As in ancient Karnataka, even during the medieval period the Brahmins occupied an important position in the social order. According to the Vedas, the Brahmins were born through the mouth of Brahma, the Creator, hence as it is prescribed in the vedas that their main duty was to engage in priestly work and imparting education. This tradition was continued as elsewhere in ancient Karnataka. Later on taking into consideration the intelligence and culture, they were appointed by the kings as religious advisers and ministers. They were given important positions in the council of ministry. Gradually they also showed interest in occupying the post of *dandanāyakas*. Thus, a man chanting *mantras* and *sastras* made up his mind to hold *sastras* (arms).

¹ E.C. VI, Kp.52, p.85; E.C. VIII, Pl.133, p.190

² E.C. VIII, Pl.122, p.187; E.C. VIII, Pl.222, p.211

³ Saletore B.A. – Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol.II, p.6

In ancient Karnataka Brahmins played a decisive role in imparting knowledge to the society. They were not only great scholars but also were well known writers and there were Brahmin teachers to impart education in different branches of knowledge to young princes. This tradition was continued even during the Vijayanagara period. Considering their efforts and devotion kings donated liberal grants and helped them in establishing *Agrahāras*, which were advanced educational centres. As priests in temples they performed religious rituals and guided society in religious matters. Considering the scholarship of Brahmins generally kings invited them to work as teachers in the *Agrahāras*. As such the Brahmins occupied and enjoyed good status in the royal court and also in society.

Brahmins held important posts in almost all spheres, political administrative, military besides priestly. It is said that they were given more freedom and privileges and were not liable for death punishment. They were respected by kings, great lords and other people of high ranks. They were given many liberties and privileges, which were not given to members of other communities. Even Domingos Paes says that Brahmins were considered as holy ones like Friars. They were considered to be the best of all.¹ The presence of Brahmins was felt in all activities of the state in this period. As minister of the king he was responsible for the success of the

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, New Delhi, 1987, p.245

state policy; as governor over a large province he exercised the functions of an administrator; as master of riches, he increased the wealth of the kingdom; and as the champion of the castes below him, he sometimes advocated the cause of social reform.¹

Brahmins were known for their industrious character. They were also employed in business if they were obliged to go into the field.² They cultivated vegetables and herbs.³ They also possessed enormous wealth. The king always gave large sums in charity to Brahmins and it was known that always two or three thousand brahmins were his priests. Nuniz further remarks that 'the Brahmin priests were very despicable men.⁴ They always had much money and were so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check'.⁵

An epigraph of A.D. 1513 reveals that Krishnadēvarāya consecrated the statue of god Bālakrishna in the temple, which was named afterwards as Balakrishna temple. He donated the villages and the local tax of Krishnapura. He also divided the village income among the Brahmanas there. He also donated half *khanduga* wet land per head to the priests of the Bālakrishna temple like Siva Dikshita, Narasimha Dikshita, Bhanubhatta, Virupākshabhatta and Lingabhatta. He also gave donations to the Brahmins

¹ Saletore B.A. – Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara Empire, Vol.II, pp.125-126

² Paes in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.280

³ Ibid., p.262

⁴ Nunuz, Ibid., pp.379-80

⁵ Ibid.

of four vedas, twelve members of *Pavanabhiseka*, reciters of *Purana* and to astrologers.¹

Krishnadēvaraya in his *Amuktamālyada* signified the need to recognise and entrust Brahmins with the responsibilities of warriors. He says that a Brahmin would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kshatriya or Sudra. It is always advisable for a king to make Brahmins as his officers.² This clearly shows the service mindedness and duty consciousness of Brahmins in matters of the state. Moreover Krishnadēvaraya further says that the protection of fortresses could be assigned to Brahmin generals and if strong forces were given to them, there could be no danger from the enemies.³ This points out the confidence of the emperor Krishnadēvaraya in the abilities of a Brahmins.

From the early days of the establishment of the empire, the activities of some royal priests and Brahmin generals were actively linked with the reestablishment of Hindu authority in the South. The Brahmin ministers guided the destinies of the vast empire. Especially in the beginning, Madhava and Sayana were the most capable Brahmin ministers under Bukkaraya I and Harihara II. During the days of Dēvaraya I and Dēvaraya II

¹ KUES-III, No.73; S.I.I. IV, No.254

² Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit., p.129

³ Ibid., p.129

Brahmins retained their unique place in the society.¹ It appears that there was also a custom for the *Rāja-gurus* or Royal Priests, to accompany the kings in their expeditions.² Thus, Vyāsaraya, the Royal Priest of Sāluva Narasimha accompanied the king in his southern expeditions. Another Brahmin priest called Apatsahaya of Tirukkadavur accompanied Krishnadevaraya in the Raichur campaign. (against Adilshahi's).³ Even during rule of Sangamas one of the Brahmin generals Gopana or Gopanarya enabled Kampana to consolidate the provinces of the South.⁴ The most eminent Brahmin general during Krishnadevaraya's time was Rāyasam Kondamarusayya.⁵ In addition to him, there were other equally well known Brahmin generals like Saluva Timma, Sāluva Govinda, Karnika Mangarasayya, Bācharasayya etc.⁶

The imperial secretariat was entirely managed by the men of this class. Though Brahmins were born and brought up in the orthodox Hindu traditions, they extended their co-operation to the kings in strengthening the social solidarity and upholding the *Varnasrama dharma*. This community of people were found in almost every walk of life. Some of the Brahmin ministers and generals acted themselves as friends, philosophers and guides

¹ Mahalingam T.V. – Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara Empire, Pt.II, p.16

² Somanatha – Vyayogicharitam (ed) B.Venkata Rao, Bangalore, 1926, p.40

³ E.P.Report for 1907, ASR for 1908-09, p182

⁴ E.I. VI, p.322; ASR for 1907-08, p.240

⁵ E.P.Report for 1912, p.80

⁶ Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit., p.127, note-1

to emperors. Brahmins took up jobs not strictly according to the sastras, but according to the exigencies of the day.¹ The educated ones entered into the public service. Especially in Telugu speaking areas they formed into a sub-caste known as – ‘*niyōgis*’. Even they served as ministers, commanders and also as governors of different provinces. Prominent among them were Sāluva Timma, Kondamarasayya, Ayyapparasa, Saluva Narasingaraya Nayaka, Nadendla Gopamantri, Chandragiri Somarasa, Demavasa.

Within the priestly class a new class of professional entertainers called ‘*Vipravinodis*’ came up during the Vijayanagara times, who were said to be a part of Brahmin class. The term *Vipravinodi* might be interpreted in two ways. ‘*Vipras*’ or Brahmins who provided ‘*Vinōda*’ or entertainment or those who provided entertainment to the ‘*Vipras*’. In some records, it is stated that they were Brahmins.² They were Brahmin jugglers, as a wandering community, who earned their livelyhood by public performances of magic in the streets of city. Some epigraphs shed light on them and they were so wide spread and they lived in the capital, and also in the other places like, Bedakota, Kataka and Dravidadesā.³

¹ Satyanarayana K. - Study of the History and Culture of the Andhras, Vol.II, p.395

² Narasimha Rao – Vipravinodins: A New Class of Professional Entertainers in Vijayanagara Empire, IHC, Varanasi, 1969, p.219

³ Mahalingam T.V. – Op.Cit, p.19

Warrior class:

Kshatriya as a caste in the classical sense was noticeable by its absence in the history of Vijayanagara. Although the kshatriyas formed the ruling class, they had to compete with the members of other castes, especially with the Sudras.¹ But in the Vijayanagara period though the term Kshatriya does not occur, it denoted the status that one could acquire by way of bravery and success. The rulers of Vijayanagara though belonged to the Sudra community, enjoyed the status of Kshatriyas by means of legal sanctions from the Brahmin authority. Thus, efficiency and ability in military leadership was regarded as a feature of a Kshatriya, where the affiliation to that community played little role. This is on account of the fact that the vitality of the Hindu empire was due to the activities of commercial and agricultural classes. The numerous grants they made to the provincial rulers, helped to increase the material prosperity of the country. The credit goes to the middle class who were responsible for the prosperity and greatness of Vijayanagara. This can be inferred from the praises showered on the generals in terms of their achievements rather than those of their Kshatriya descent.² From the very beginning of Vijayanagara history, the tendency was to ignore the Kshatriya claims of generals, and to describe

¹ Venkataramanayya N. – Op.Cit, p.358

² Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit, p.32

them with the usual titles, of *Mahāmandalesvara* for their brave deeds.¹

Another reason for the obscurity of the name of the Kshatriya community was the remarkable influence exercised and part played by the settis. They had remarkable influence in the Vijayanagara times, even the kings were compelled to petition them for granting dues and sanctioning gifts and donations.²

Trading Class:

The *Vaisya* community in Vijayanagara society more or less confined themselves to trade, and it was the only profession they carried in strict conformity with the rules. Very often the literary sources refer to them as mere tradesmen. They were benefited from the expanding trade, external and internal, during the period. This community of trading class in different articles, had formed their own powerful guilds and commanded great respect in the society of the Capital City and in the empire at large. References show that the assembly called *Nakaramu* acted as a corporate body on behalf of the merchant community of each locality of the different *Puras* in the City.³ They enjoyed enormous influence in the state and society. They had revenue and judicial powers, even the chiefs had to seek their permission for

¹ Ibid., p.33

² E.C. VII, Sk.118, p.87

³ Sundaram K. – Studies in Economic and Social Conditions in Medieval Andhra, Machalipatnam, 1968, p.68



granting dues to temples and other charitable institutions.¹ This kind of body also existed in other parts of the empire, in Telugu and Tamil speaking regions. These people were known as *Komatis* in Kannada and Telugu regions, and they were also engaged in money lending.² Apart from them, the Muslims, *Lingayats*, Brahmins, *Baniyas*, *Balanja*,³ also actively took part in trade and commerce within the city and outside.

Especially *Settis* or *Chettis* or *Chatis* played prominent role in Karnataka and Tamilnad. Trade and banking were their specialised functions. During the medieval times, they were the principal merchants. In Kannada speaking region they appear to have had different sections among themselves like *gavaregas*, *gatrigas*, *settis*, *settiguttas*, *ankanakaras*, *biras*, *biravanigas*, *gandigas*, *gavundas* and *gavundasvami*.⁴ The *Settis*, who were leaders of their mercantile guilds, held important positions such as *Pattanasvami* or head of the town. *Prithvi Setti* was one such important personage.⁵ In A.D. 1430, Chiyi-bessi-Setti, one of the prominent *Pattanasvami* granted land for holding a fair.⁶ Sometimes the *Pattanasetti* appears to have been in charge of the administration of urban area or town where guilds existed.⁷

¹ Satyanarayana K. – Op.Cit., p.399

² Sundaram K. – Op.Cit, p.57

³ Mahalingam T.V. – Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, p.31

⁴ E.C. VII, Sk.118, p.87

⁵ Vankataratnam A.V. – Local Government in The Vijayanagara Empire, P.III

⁶ E.C. X, Bg.72

⁷ Mahalingam T.V. – Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, VDM, Madras, 1951, p.32

About *Settis*, Barbosa describes that they were tawny men almost white and fat. They were great merchants dealing in precious stones, seed pearls and corals and other valuable goods such as gold and silver. They had spacious houses in their appointed streets. They wore rich ornaments. They were careful in business and amassing wealth. They were sober, and orderly in eating and spending. Further, he wrote that they managed their own affairs, the kings might not enquire into their crimes; they do justice to others with which the king was satisfied. When they died, their bodies were burnt; they ate everything save the cow only.¹

Agricultural and Other Related Class:

This class was a conglomeration of numerous castes, and was regarded as a heterogeneous community, as it had both higher and lower sub-castes within it. Agriculture being their main occupation, they formed the backbone of the state and the prosperity of the state depended upon them to a very great extent.² Each group had its own rules which were observed strictly. The elders of the caste were appointed by the government, sometimes to collect taxes and to pay a part of it to the local authority. The leaders of these sub-castes were appointed as *Amarnayakas*, rent farmers and *Kavalgaras* etc.³ Later, in course of time these community leaders

¹ Longworth Dames – The Book of Durate Barbosa, Vol.I, pp.70-73

² Venkataramanayya N. – Op.Cit, p.360

³ Satyanarayana K. Op.Cit, pp.400-401

became the rulers of petty principalities. There were also people who engaged themselves in different professions and belonged to the Sudra community like: kurubas, gollas, washermen, barbers, kaikkolars, balijas, courtesans, panchālas (artisans) dombaras, etc.

Weavers:

This group was but a prominent weaving community based on profession and the weavers were called Kaikkolars. They were an influential community in the Vijayanagara society. They worked on looms and lived around the temple precincts. In *Mōhanatarangini* Kanakadāsa describes the separate streets of different artisans, except this literary evidence, no other archaeological sources are available. He also describes the variety of cloth shops in the streets. Hence, there must be a separate street for the weavers also,¹ as it was there in the other cities of the empire as noticed in an inscription at Madambakkam which mentions the street of the Kaikkolas.² They supplied the necessary clothing to the people. As an influential community in the society, they had some voice in the temple matters such as its administration and levy of local taxes. The Kaikkolars were included in the eighteen traditional castes. Being members of professional caste, they were rich enough to dispense charity and build temples.³ The dyers were

¹ Hiremath R.C. (Ed) – *Mohanatarangini*, Dharwada, 1973, p.26

² 319 of 1911

³ Nagaraju H.M. – *Deva Raya II and His Times*, p.137

akin to the weavers and dyed the clothes and silks in different colours.

Kaikkolars often secured remission of taxes imposed on them, as recorded in an inscription of A.D. 1370.¹ While some taxes were strictly levied on them² as weavers, they carried on their industry on a small scale. Like the artisans, the Kaikkolars also clamoured for certain social privileges.

Barbers:

Barbers formed themselves as an important community in the social structure from ancient times, and their importance is revealed in several Hindu religious ceremonies.³ They received some special privileges at the time of Sadāśivaraya. An inscription records that Rāmarāya, being pleased with the barber Kondoja, extempted the barbers from certain taxes.⁴ The Telugu poet Rudrayya in his *Nirankusōpakhyanam* states that he secured an interview with Sadāśivaraya through the influence of Kondoja, a favourite barber of the king.⁵ Though this community members were less in number in the society, they rose in the royal estimation towards the middle of 16th century and enjoyed certain concessions and privileges.⁶ They were

¹ E.C. IV, Ch.97

² ARSIE, 1918, p.166

³ Grihya Sutras (Sankhayana), P.1, Adhyaya, 28 Kanda 6 and 24, pp.55-57

⁴ E.C., XII, Tp.126, p.66

⁵ Mahalingam T.V. – Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara, Pt.II, p.24

⁶ E.C., XI, Hk.11 and Hk.110

bestowed with the usual rewards in the shape of dress, *inams*, and grants of land.¹

Dombaras:

The Dombaras were a community of jugglers. They were providing amusement to the people by their acrobats some of them were also snake-charmers and travelled widely in the country for their livelyhood. Abdur Razzak describes how these acrobats played on bars and used tamed elephants in their work. They were great entertainers to the common people and nobles who would gathered at the capital for the *Mahānavami* festival.²

The Dutch traveller John Hughen Von Linschotten (1583) writes that, “There likewise many sooth-saiers and witches were use jugling and travelled throughout the country, having about them many live snakes, which they knew how to bewitch, and being shut up in little baskets, they put them out and make them dance, twine and wind at the sound of a certain instrument, where upon they play, and speak unto them. They wind them about their necks, arms, and legs, kissing them, with a thousand other devises only to get money. They are all for the most part very skillful in preparing poisons, where with they do many strange things, and easily

¹ Saletore B.A. – Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara Empire, VolII, p.40

² Abdur Razzak in Elliot and Dowson – History of India as told by Its own Historians, Vol.IV, pp.118-119

poison each other".¹ Sometimes collecting their resources Dombars made certain joint grants to temples. An inscription of A.D. 1529 reveals that two members of this community gave a grant to the temple of Tiruvengalanatha out of their earnings.²

Artisans:

Another important group which comprised the Vijayanagara society was artisans. They played an important role in medieval Indian society. Various artisans settled in the Vijayanagara City had come from different parts of South India. Blacksmiths, goldsmiths, brasssmiths, artisan groups of the five communities called *Panchālas*. The artisan community not only satisfied the material and aesthetic needs of the people but they even made and supplied ornaments to the members of the royal family and chiefs of the time.³ Artisan community of the medieval times everywhere whether in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu, held the view that they were the descendants of the five sons of Vishvakarma. From the 15th century onwards society presented a picture of social order in ferment. The Sudra artisanal castes, who described themselves as satsudras, sought to propel themselves into the higher echelons of society which commanded ritual superiority. These artisanal and mercantile groups tried to crowd into the limited space

¹ Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit, p.50

² Mahalingam T.V. – Op.Cit, p.25

³ Sundaram K. – Op.Cit, pp.25-26

offered by ritual and social privileges, resulting into conflicts among the different sections of artisans and the pulls and pressures were reflected in the contemporary medieval society.¹ The other artisans were those involved in handloom industry, the weaving industry, bleaching industry and tanning industry, and pot making etc. In the society, temple was also another important means to establish friendly ties with the leading professional groups. Generally the artisans were given hereditary rights over a small piece of land, which was fully or partially exempted from the tax.² In the society the potter, tanner and to some extent the blacksmith remained largely a part of the agrarian subsistant economy, but the weavers, most of the metal workers, oil pressers, even masons, and carpenters participated in the process of urbanization.

The process of urbanization of this period as the temple nucleus led to the clustering of artisans in such areas. The growth of Vijayanagara, a temple city was due partly to the active patronage of the Vijayanagara kings. The temples were huge architectural complexes with a number of small shrines and enclosures, and gradually this temple-city became the centre of a large scale artisan activity. Besides different temple servants such as priests, dancers, musicians and various other categories of artisans settled around

¹ Vijaya Rama Swamy – Artisans in Vijayanagar Society in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.XXII, 1985, No.1, p.417

² Sundaram K. – op.Cit, p.26

the temple. Tirupati, Šrirangam, Chidambaram, and Kāñchipuram were some of the leading examples of this type of temple-towns during the Vijayanagara times. In due course of time including Vijayanagara City these towns have taken the character of commercial towns as a result of expanding trade and commerce. The artisans settled in the temple towns did not cater only to the temples or the court but also to a wider market.¹ Kanakadāsa in his *Mōhanatarangini* writes that there were separate streets for various artisans like jewellers, goldsmiths, glass workers, architects, and carpenters.²

The spurt in the textile industry was the result of demand from the newly emerging officials like *Nāyakas*, *Pālegars* and other functionaries and from the Vijayanagara palace and the royal court. Even the domestic demand came from the changing life styles of the middle and upper classes. The change in the style of the costumes adopted by the Vijayanagara Court and the nobility can be attributed primarily to the Muslim influence. The Muslims dressed themselves in magnificent apparel after the manner of Arabs.³ This change in the style of the costumes of the court and the nobility was reflected in most of the travellers accounts and also in contemporary paintings.

Demand for the metal works, gold jewellery and other ornaments

¹ Vijaya Rama Swamy – Op.Cit, p.423

² Hiremath R.C. – Op.Cit, pp.26-27

³ Notes on Textile Technology in Medieval South India: IESHR, Vol.XVII, No.2, pp.233-234

came from temples, royal palace and royal court, as also from the upper classes. Besides jewellery, gold and silver wares as well as other ceremonial symbols were in great demand from temples and the royal court. References to this are found in many inscriptions and also in Tirumala Tirupati Devastanam Inscriptions. Even kings liberally donated such ornaments and other articles required for worshipping deities on occasions. For instance, Krishnadevaraya donated on the day of his coronation gold lotus decorated with precious stones, *nāgabharana*, one gold plate for the *naivedya*, two golden *āratis*, thirty four silver *āratis* were offered to perform various services to God Sri Virupāksha, as it is referred in one of the inscriptions.¹ However, gold ornaments were also worn by the common people, except the very poor. To quote Abdur Razzak-'All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers'.²

The blacksmith was important to every village community and city, because he had to make the plough shares, hoes, and axes and iron tyres for wheels and bullock shoes and various articles used in both agriculture and industry. Iron also appears to have been an export

¹ E.I. Vol.I, p.361; A.R. No.29 of 1889; S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.493

² Abdur Razzak in Elliot and Dowson – The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, Vol.IV, p.109

commodity. According to Durate Barbosa, at Bathekala (Bhatkal), ships bound for Ormuz loaded cargoes of iron.¹ In fact iron ore was mined to a considerable extent, near the capital city and it is said that there was an ancient iron factory at Kuditini (Bellary district).²

The armour industry provided a major source of demand for the services of the smiths. Their products included metal shields, swords of different types, battle- axes and spears (Javelins). Even in some inscriptions smiths are referred as *Salyoddara* or makers of weapons.³ Domingos Paes who visited the capital city describes the swords and shields of the nobles encrusted with gems and designs of beaten gold and silver'.⁴ Asad Beg's account of Bijapur, written around the mid 17th century describes shops of armours, cloth sellers and jewellers.⁵ Frequent references to the manufacture of muskets and cannons in contemporary literature from the 16th century onwards suggest that their greater use in medieval warfare must have given boost to the armour industry.

The life style of the people and their mode of consumption, prosperity of certain sections of the society, especially the bureaucracy and the lower officials, some artisan groups and merchants benefitted from the expansion

¹ Durate Barbosa – The Book of Barbosa (Ed). M.C.dames, Book.I, p.188

² Gururajachar S. – Karnataka Darsana, pp.71-72; Cited in Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnataka, p.82

³ S.I.I. Vol.XVII, No.603

⁴ Domingos Paes in Sewell Robert's – A Forgotten Empire, pp.269-270

⁵ Asad Beg's Account in H.M.Elliott and Dowson – Op.Cit, Vol.VI, pp.162-164

of the artisan activities. As a result of expanding market for their goods, their standard of life was improved and they made donations to temples in kind or cash not in the form of service especially the groups like weavers and a section of smiths. The artisans have functioned collectively in the joint payment of taxes and for social purpose like making joint donations to temples, joint celebrations of festivals etc.¹

The number of donations indicates prosperity of groups in the Vijayanagara society. The weavers and the smiths occupied an important place by making several donations to temples followed by the oilmongers. Some of members of categories were given besides the privileges, the other privileges also seem to have been certain appointments as accountants, temple managers, treasurers, and trustees.² In the society artisan's economic power eventually led to their social elevation and recognition in society.

The process of social mobility and change among the more prosperous artisan groups resulted and reflected in (a) the demand for social privileges; (b) the ascribing of mythical origins and claiming of Brahmanical status; (c) *Idangai-Valangai* (left hand, right hand) caste groups within the Sudra communities; and (d) social protests and participation in the *Bhakthi* movement.³ The almost equal social importance enjoyed by the weavers and

¹ Vijaya Rama Swamy – Op.Cit, p.427

² A.R.E., 365 of 1912-13; 356 of 1912-13; 482 of 1909-10; and 602, 603 and 606 of 1916-17

³ Vijaya Rama Swamy – Op.Cit, p.435

smiths was perhaps one of the reasons for frequent conflicts and rivalry between the communities. The desire for enhanced social status among the artisans was a major factor in the left hand and right hand (*Idangai and Valangai*) conflicts and schisms.¹ Each artisan group claimed for its superiority, privileges and recognition. This kind of conflicts took place within the frame work of their different groups, which excluded the priestly community and was confined to the trading and other related communities.

Like the communities weavers, artisans, oilmongers, tanners, barbers, the washermen community was also present in the Vijayanagara society. The washermen were also necessary functionaries in any village or city. But there is a very limited evidence available on the existence of this community in the capital city. However, an undated inscription found on a rock at Hemakuta hill, in the Capital City mentions some names of washermen like Kachenaya, Boma, Māchaya of Hampe and others. The language of the inscription is corrupt, and further it states that, they described themselves as '*Halaru of 120*', probably a guild of their own community. The inscription records that they constructed a temple to God Siva.²

The picture of the social life of these communities helps us to understand in greater measure the working and development of medieval

¹ Sreenivasachari K. – The Origins of the Left Hand and Right Hand Castees – J.A.H.R.S., Vol.V, Pt.1 and 2, July and October, 1925.

² KUES-III, No.64, p.53; VPR No.28 of 1984-87

Vijayanagara society. Some of the artisan communities not only satisfied the material and aesthetic needs of the people but even contributed to the stability of the state by supplying finished goods and paying the revenue to the state and by granting donations to temples. Some Social customs and manners and religious institutions which existed in the previous centuries in South India, especially during the time of the Hoysala rule continued to some extent in the Vijayanagara period.

There was discernible social consciousness among different communities in the Vijayanagara period. This consciousness brought harmony, interaction and mutual dependence and played a great role in strengthening the bonds of social solidarity among different communities in the society.

The rulers being the upholders of Hindu dharma felt the importance of preserving the culture and heritage, which was inherited from the past.

Sati:

The custom of Sati or Self-immolation was widely prevalent in medieval Vijayanagara society. Almost all the foreign travellers like Brabosa, Nuniz, Caesar Federick, Linschoten, Barradas, Pietro Dellervelle have left behind a detailed account of the performance of Sati. Indigenous accounts and epigraphs also bear evidence to this practice.

In Southern India, Sati existed prior to the Vijayanagara empire.¹ This system at first originated among the noble caste of *Rajas* of northern India. Later on it spread to the other castes.² There was unanimous opinion among the foreign visitors that Sati was neither obligatory nor compulsory, but all seem to have difference of opinion regarding the pattern in which this Sati was performed.

Nuniz states that the women had the custom of burning themselves when their husbands died and held it an honour to do so.³ The method of practising it differed from class to class. Various methods were followed by different women in performing this practice. In the lower classes, the wife went to the burial ground sitting on an ordinary horse along with the husband's dead body. When the corpse was laid down in the pit and began to burn, then she threw herself into the midst of the fire, of her own free will and the bodies were reduced to ashes. Whereas in the case of a rich woman, she was taken to the burning ground on a decorated horse along with the husband's corpse and the corpse was burnt with much sandalwood when she wept greatly⁴ and jumped herself in the funeral fire.

Both Barbosa and Nuniz speak in detail about this custom in their accounts. The practice of Sati became so customary that when the king died

¹ Saletoe B.A. – Op.Cit, VolII, p.72

² Abbe Dubois (Ed) – Hindu Manners and Customs, Vol.II, p.367

³ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.391

⁴ Longworth Dames, Op.Cit, pp.212-216

four or five hundred women burnt themselves. Barbosa and others explain how they were burnt. But all the four to five hundred women were not the queens. But they were the female servants in the harem. Because of respect they cherished to the king and queen they performed this mass Sati.

Lingāyats did not burn their dead but buried them as per their customs. There is an epigraph dated A.D. 1509 which says that when Harur Gauda's son Bomma Gauda went to *svarga*, his wife Bommi Gauda sitting in the tomb went to *svarga*.¹ The woman who wished to commit Sati was entombed along with her husband.

Nuniz also testifies to the fact that the woman who committed Sati did it of her own will. Women go with pleasure to the pit, inside which were made two seats of earth, one for the dead and the other for her, and they placed each one in the respective seats and covered them little by little till they were covered up and so the wife died with the husband.²

In society all women did not commit Sati. There are instances of women who refused to commit Sati. The traveller Linschoten says that every widowed woman might not commit Sati. He says that any woman who refused to be burnt with her husband, they cut the hair clean off from her head, and while she lived and thereafter she never wore any jewels and she

¹ E.C. VIII, Sb.165

² Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.393

was despised and accounted for a dishonest woman.¹ Most likely this social censure and disapproval might have resulted in many more forced deaths in the society. About the non-performers of Sati, it is said that their kindred were held in dishonour and considered it as a shame to their families. They even shaved their heads in disgrace. Sometimes women were buried only up to throat and then the Brahmins wringed her neck and strangled her to death and then covered the body with earth.²

The performance of Sati was glorified by the erection of numerous Sati-stones or ‘*Māstikal*’ or ‘*Mahā Satikals*’ at important places. These glorious incidents were shown symbolically in many sculptures. In sculptures the representation of a widow or widows who committed Sati carved on stone memorials along with the dead husband can be seen. Generally these stones are sculptured with a pointed pillar or post, from which projects a woman’s right arm, bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised, with fingers erect, and a lime fruit is usually shown placed between the thumb and forefinger. Some of them were accompanied with elaborate inscriptions.³ Even to this day, the group of Sati memorials are situated on the western side of the main road to Hampi and outside the small temple of

¹ Talbhoys Wheeler J. (Ed.) – Early Travels in India (16th of 17th Century), Deep Publications, Delhi, 1976, pp.197-198

² Sudhil Choudary – A Note on Sati in Medieval India, IHC, Ranchi, 1964, p.77

³ Longhurst A.H. – Hampi Ruins, pp.36-38

Uddāna Virabhadra close to Krishnāpura, a Vaishnavapura of the Vijayanagara City.

Celebration of Marriages:

Another popular social practice of the Vijayanagara times was the celebration of marriages. Marriage was considered as an obligation for every person among Hindus, and as a religious sacrament and one of the *samskaras*. Monogamy seems to have been the rule among the lower society. Polygamy was the privilege of the nobles and the wealthy. The king, of course had a large number of wives.

Generally in the marriage ceremony bride's father was supposed to give his daughter as a gift to the groom and should not expect anything in return. As the days passed, the evil practice of giving dowry to the bridegroom crept into this system. The concern of parents in regard to the marriages of their growing daughters was serious and harsh, and marriage customs were eating the very life of the people.¹ Besides a massive dowry, there was another burden of paying taxes to the state at the time of marriage.² The marriage tax was paid by all classes of people at the time of marriage of a virgin by both the parties.³

¹ Aiyyangar S.K. – Social Legislation, QJMS, VI, pp.47-57

² Hymavati – Marriage Problems Under Vijayanagara, APHC, 1983, p.58

³ A.R.E. No.616 of 1906

In the Vijayanagara society, of those days the usual custom was that the parents of the bride should search and select a suitable life partner for their daughter and celebrate the marriage at their house. The *Vishnupuranam*, a contemporary literary work refers to the marriageable age of the bride and groom. The author of the work says that the bride should be of 1/3rd age to that of a bridegroom.¹ Child marriages seem to be common and widely prevalent in the society. Among the Brahmins such kind of marriages were more, as travellers recorded during their visits to the city. Other communities followed in the footsteps of Brahmins and celebrated the marriages of their daughters in their childhood. Non-brahmin communities celebrated the marriage of their daughters only after they attained puberty. Linschoten who observed the custom says that the girl of seven years old and a boy nine years old who got married would not come together to bear children.² *Lingayats* and Brahmins practised monogamy and even if she died the husbands not marry again.³ Others followed polygamy, the king and the rich had several wives as they could maintain many wives.⁴

Apart from *Kanyāsulka*, another custom *Varakatna* was prevalent in the later period. This is nothing but ‘*Sthridhana*’. It was given in accordance with the social status of the individual. This type of custom was most

¹ Vennelakanti Suranna – *Vishnupuranam*, 4-182

² Purchas – Op.Cit, p.256

³ Barbosa, Vol.I, Op.Cit, p.219

⁴ Ibid., Vol.I, p.116

common among the upper strata of society, which included the royal, feudal and upper middle class people. It was a custom of granting provinces, villages, lands, scholars, elephants, maidens and other luxurious goods as dowry.¹ Only rich, royal, feudal lords could afford this custom, it became a big burden to the middle class of Non-brahmin communities of offering *Varakatna* or *Sthridhāna*. Hence, some restrictions and regulations were made against giving lands in the form of Sthridhana or dowry. An inscription of A.D. 1404 informs that a certain individual called Vitthappa sold the village of Kandavalli together with other lands for his daughter's marriage.²

Another custom of *Oli*, similar to *Kanyāsulka* was prevalent in the communities who were socially and economically backward. According to this custom, the bridegroom's parents had to give something either in cash or kind to the bride's parents at the time of wedding.

During the Vijayanagara times, at the time of marriage, one party or the other must have suffered either from the custom of *Kanyasulka* or *Oli*. Besides these, the imposition of marriage taxes by the state further deteriorated the condition of poor people. This tax was imposed on both the parties at the time of marriage.³ The actual amount collected tax on each

¹ A.R.E. No.13 of 1943-44

² E.C. VIII, TI, 134, p.190

³ A.R.E. No.214 of 1936

marriage is not known. In addition to marriage tax, several other dues were collected. People celebrating marriages had to pay different taxes like: a tax for the marriage *pendal* and another for taking out the married couple outside in procession. Several economically backward poor people could not pay these burdensome taxes to the state and remained bachelors.¹ Especially in the poor communities, where there was the custom of either *Kanyasulka* or *Oli*, there was a possibility of giving one's daughters in marriage to a person who offered more money or something to the bride's parents even if he was an old man or handicapped.

In the Vijayanagara society the institution of marriage was indirectly associated with the child marriage and prostitution. The prostitution was encouraged indirectly because of the above noted difficulties and problems. In the society of Vijayanagara prostitution was legalised and was so widespread that about 12,000 prostitutes lived in the City of Vijayanagara.² Almost all the contemporary literary works and some foreign visitors have mentioned about the presence of *Vesvāvatikas*. Durate Barbosa, who visited the City of Vijayanagara during the time of Krishnadevaraya describes the extraordinary wealth of the prostitutes as some of them were so rich that a short time ago one of them, dying without son or daughter, made the king heir to all her property, who sent to collect what she had left, found a sum of

¹ Venkataramanayya N. – Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.221; E.C. XI, Hk.17

² Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.248 and 282

70,000 paradaos.¹ On account of marriage problems these followings things can be noticed in the Vijayanagara society. (1) Due to the existence of dowry and different marriage taxes, many men might have remained unmarried. (2) *Kanyāsulka* or *Oli* customs encouraged more child marriages for girls and late marriages for men among the economically backward and lower communities. (3) Sometimes poor parents might have sold or handed over their daughters to the rich courtesans.² (4) Prostitutes were very highly esteemed and were classed among those honoured ones who were the mistresses of the captains.³ (5) Any respectable man might visit them without any blame attached thereto.⁴ These social conditions might have encouraged immorality in both men and women. One of the contemporary works *Kridabhiramamu* of Vinukonda Vallabhamatya refers to the dissolute character of a young widow.⁵ (6) The state recognised prostitution as a profession and collected tax from the prostitutes.

Abdur Razzak says that 'There were several brothels within the seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which amounted to 12,000 *fanams*, which went to pay the wages of the policemen.⁶ The institution of prostitution was legalised by the state, and a tax was imposed on their

¹ Barbosa, Vol.I, p.226

² Ibid.

³ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.242

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Venkataramanayya N. - Op.Cit, p.234

⁶ Vasundhara Filliozat – Op.Cit, p.265

profession. Thus, by legalising it state stopped the atrocities on women and crimes in society.

Courtesans were regarded as a respectable community even though they practised prostitution. Sometimes they were allowed to chew betel leaves even in the presence of the king.¹ The profession of courtesans was extremely lucrative. Many of them were rich and lived in the best houses of the most fashionable streets in the city. Paes says that they were given land, palanquins and maidservants. The fortunes of the courtesans amounted to £32,000 in A.D. 1519.² The street where the courtesans resided in the Capital City of Vijayanagara was identified. The noblemen's palace area in fact was the street of the courtesans.³

The state did not interfere with the customs and traditions that prevailed in society. When the people found any problem regarding the custom and tradition, they used to assemble and make voluntary agreement either to abolish or regulate it. Regarding the imposition of taxes on marriage, people requested the state through representations. During the period of Tuluva Vira Narasimha, the marriage tax was abolished in certain areas for the first time owing to the efforts made by Prime Minister Saluva Timmarasu.⁴ It was during the time of Krishnadevaraya that all kinds of

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.242

² Longworth dames – Op.Cit, p.226

³ Narasimhaiah B. – Metropolis Vijayanagara, Book India Publishing Co., Delhi, 1992, p.57

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.803

marriage taxes were abolished in Vijayanagara.¹ It can be said that social regulation was effectively made through the punishments of excommunication. It was a sort of weapon of exercising authority of the social groups. This was more effective and a terrible punishment than the royal punishment.²

Self Torture:

The practice of self-torture to satisfy the god was also prevalent in society. They injured the body and believed that if they did so their vows would be fulfilled and they would get heavenly pleasure and salvation. So, they cut off some parts of their body, pierced the body with needles and swords. Barbosa, who visited the Capital City, writes about hook-swinging custom as an eyewitness.³ Besides this, finger offering among the agricultural class and hero worship were the other common social practices of the Vijayanagara society.

Food Habits:

A rich variety of food items were taken by people of Vijayanagara. The indigenous chronicles and inscriptions speak of a number of food items. Even to this day some of the same of food items are prepared. Some

¹ E.C. XII, MI, 64

² Hymavati – Op.Cit, p.63

³ Vasundhara Filliozat – Op.Cit, pp.313-314

orthodox regulations with regard to food habits can be seen in society. People were familiar with both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food items. The nature of food which was common in Vijayanagara was the result of the physical environments, habits and customs of the people.¹ The Brahmins, *Vaisyas*, Jains and the *Lingayats* took only vegetarian food, while others including the royal family were accustomed to take meat, fish and fowl.

According to Paes, Vijayanagara city was the best provided city in the world. Provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn, pulses, horse-gram and many other cereals, that were grown in the country then were stocked largely and sold very cheaply. The use of wheat was not so common as other food grains, only Moors used it. The *Amuktamālyada* says that the dishes changed from season to season. The list of preparations it gives is all to be seen today.² Krishnadevaraya has given a few more details about the food habits of other classes of people. In summer people ate raw mango and fried fish with rice. To avoid the smell, they drank tender coconut water which was buried under the sand. Farmers in the monsoon had the 'harakadaanna' (which is of inferior quality and eaten in draught hit areas) and a curry made of green leafy vegetables with tender leaves of tamarind. The rich people carried the food articles with them on their journey. For

¹ Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit, pp.305-306

² Nirupama – Krishnadeva Raya's *Amuktamalyada* (Kan), Prasaranga, Kannada University, Hampi – Vidyaranya, 1999, p.15

easy cooking on the way during the journey, rice, dal, spice powder, ghee, were taken.¹

Kanakadāsa in his *Mōhanatarangini* has described the lunch in an *annachhatra* of Brahmins. The lunch consisted of rice, dal, gravy prepared of butter, milk, *rasam*, soup, pickles and butter milk. The sweet items consisted of *pheni*, *sukhhinunde*, *garige*, sweet dishes, mixed fruits with milk. After the lunch betel leaf, arecanut with camphor was given.²

Inscriptions also speak of the provisions with measurements for the items of food that were offered to gods and also mention the names of the provisions which were used for the *naivedya*. An inscription of A.D. 1521,³ gives the names such as – blackgram, groundnut, jaggery, sugarcane, coconut, tender coconut, banana, arecanut, betel-leaf, etc. Another inscription of A.D. 1534 mentions,⁴ the names of some items like ; rice, salt, pepper, ghee, sugar, milk, curd, betel leaf etc. Yet another epigraph of A.D. 1563⁵ speaks of the provisions for preparing pan cake and says that blackgram , rice, salt, cumin seeds, sugar, ghee, curd etc., were given.

Paes records that these dominions were very well cultivated and very fertile, and were provided with a number of cattle such as cows, buffaloes,

¹ Venkataramappa K. – Sri Krishnadeva Rayana Kalada Karnataka-Andhra Sahitya Samikshe (Kan), Mysore University, Mysore, 1974, pp/65-67

² Hiremath R.C. – Mohanatarangini, K.U.D., 1973, pp.32-34

³ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.250

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.570

⁵ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.678

and sheep; also birds, and this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land had plenty of rice, Indian corn, grains, beans and other kinds of crops, also an infinity of cotton....much wheat; oil obtained from the seeds sown was amply used by people in preparing food.¹ Food grains like ragi, rice and jowar were the staple food of the people. When Abdur Razzak visited the Vijayanagara court he was daily supplied with two sheep, four couples of fowls, five manas of rice and one mana of butter, and one mana of sugar.² Even Nuniz gives a clear picture of the royal kitchen. There appeared to have been public eating houses in the Capital City of Vijayanagara, where stone slabs with hollows in them for rice and curries were used for eating. Travellers may have been required to pay some amount for it, such kind of stone slabs can be seen even to this day in some parts of the capital city. Besides public eating houses, there were many free feeding choultries where travellers were allowed to have food for a specified number of days. People were in the habit of chewing betel leaf after the dinner.

In the capital city there existed a separate bazar by name '*Pan-Supari Bazar*.' In epigraphs it is called by other names like: '*Kramuka Parnaapana*', '*Parna-Pugi-Phala-Pana*', and in the South Indian Inscriptions volume I, it is called '*Pan Supāri Bazar*'.

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.237-238

² Elliot H.M. – Op.Cit, Vol.IV, p.113

Abdur Razzak, Barbosa Paes and Nuniz give many details of the habits of chewing betel leaves. Especially the description of Razzak and Paes are very interesting. Paes observed that the privilege of dancing women, who were eating betel leaves even in the presence of king, a thing which no other person might do, no matter whatever might be his rank.¹ By this one can understand that betel leaf was in common use among all classes. It was also used on all ceremonial occasions.

Dress and Ornaments:

The dress and ornaments of the people in the city were of many varieties indicating the varied tastes for fashions. The contemporary literary works, travellers' accounts and numerous sculptures describe the dresses and different ornaments of the people. Inscriptions testify to the fact that ornaments were donated by kings to temples.

Merchants from far off countries came to Vijayanagara to trade in horses, silk, rubies and other precious articles. The itinerants have given a splendid account of the dress and ornaments of the people in the Capital City. The king and his family members, nobles spent large sum of money on their dresses made of silk. When Abdur Razzak met king Devaraya II in the court he was –‘dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a

¹ Vasundhara Filliozat – Op.Cit, p.65

collar composed of pearls of beautiful water, and splendid gems'.¹ Paes writes that "king Krishnadevaraya during the *Mahānavami* festival –sits, dressed in white clothes all covered with embroidery of golden roses and wearing his jewels. He wears a quantity of these white garments and I always saw him so dressed".² Nuniz's account narrates that -'The king never puts any garment more than once, and when he takes it off he at once delivers it to certain officers who have charge of this duty, and they render an account; and these garments are never given to any one. This is considered to show great state. His clothes are silk clothes of very fine material and worked with gold, which are worth each one 10 pardaos each; and they wear at times bajuris of the same sort, which are nice shirts with skirts.³ Paes writes that when he met Krishnadevaraya at that time he was clothed in certain white clothes embroidered with many roses of gold and with a pateca of diamonds on his neck of very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a golician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk and was bare footed.⁴

Paes, who was also present on the occasion of festival of *Navaratri* speaks about the head dress of the king as the state jewel kept on a dias upright and as high as a span, the top was round, it was full of pearls and

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.92

² Ibid., p.269

³ Ibid., p.383

⁴ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.251-252

rubies and all other precious stones and on the top of it was a pearl as large as a nut which was not quite rounded. Besides this, another state jewel an anklet full of large precious stones was kept. The thickness was that of a man's arm.¹ A keen observer of men and manners that he was, Barbosa has noted the different ornaments worn by women of Vijayanagara, and was struck by the beauty in the women he saw at the king's palace and the dress they wore. He writes that the women wore white garments of very thin cotton, or silk of light colour, five yards long, one part of which was girt around them below, and the other part they threw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remained uncovered as with a scarf.² What he has described is the traditional saree of the Indian women.

The usual dress of women at the royal court consisted of a *pāvada* (a sort of Petticoat) *paita* (mantle), and a *ravike* or *kuppusa* (bodice). The petticoat of saffron coloured thin muslin *paita* were very popular among the aristocratic ladies.³ Queens and other women of the royal palace as well as courtesans dressed themselves more or less in the same style.

The traditional dresses were worn in different styles, as it can be seen from different sculptures of the temple. Other than saree, the other dress was

¹ Ibid., p.265

² Longworth Dames : Barbosa, Vol.I, pp.207-208

³ Venkataramanayya N. – Op.Cit, p.379

a skirt simple and worn up to knee, and long upto ankle. The dresses of dancing women were different from the other women. The dresses were very rich and had several folds in the front, which would spread like a fan while dancing. Skirt with folds with an inner pant upto ankle, was yet another dress of the dancers. Abdur Razzak saw in Devaraya II's court that singers adorned with beautiful garments and displaying figures which ravished the heart like fresh roses.¹ And also he observed that women wore leather shoes embroidered with silk. Barbosa says that women tied their hair into a knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. This kind of representations can be seen in many sculptures.

Ornaments:

The inborn desire of womenfolk to look beautiful was a common phenomenon. For this they took the help of different types of costumes, ornaments and cosmetics to increase their beauty irrespective of their position. The women belonging to higher class wore costly and aesthetically designed costumes and well chiselled ornaments whereas the women of the lower classes wore simple cotton clothes and ornaments made of low metals, beads, and bones etc., depending upon their economic conditions. The sculptures and paintings at the capital throw light on ornaments. The adornment patterns differed from region to region depending on the

¹ Elliot H.M. – Op.Cit, p.118

geographical, climatic and ethnic factors. According to their social status and professions women of this age adorned themselves with various types of ornaments. For example the women of royalty had elaborate ornamentation as it was the symbol of royal majesty, whereas courtesans used many ornaments to look more beautiful and to attract men and succeed in their profession.

Jewellery constituted an important component of one's dressing. This aspect applied more to women as they felt it was incomplete without jewellery. Foreign visitors have also remarked that women of this period wore very rich, fine clothes and ornaments. Durate Barbosa writes about the ornaments for the nose, ear and also other ornaments. He describes that women made a small hole in one of the nostrils through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, saphire or ruby pendant. In the ears, they wore earrings set with many jewels and on their necks they wore necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads adorned their arms.¹

Paes describes that women wore caps on their head which they called collae and on these caps they wore flowers made of large pearls, collars on the neck with jewels of gold and very richly set with many emeralds, diamonds, rubies, pearls and besides this many strings of pearls, and others

¹ Dames, Barbosa, VolI, pp.207-208

for shoulder belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets with half of the upper arm all bear, having armlets in the same way, all of precious stones; on the waist many girdles of gold and of precious stones, girdles hanging in order one below the other almost as far down as the thigh; besides these belts they had other jewels; and many strings of pearls round the ankles for they wore very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest.¹

Most of the chroniclers have described the dress and ornaments of the wealthy class rather than poor sections of the society. About the queens it is said that they maintained treasury consisting of personal ornaments, namely armlets, bracelets, seed-pearls, pearls and diamonds in large quantity and each queen had sixty maidens who adorned the queen as richly as could possibly be with many jewels, rubies, diamonds, pearls and seed pearls.² Even Abdur Razzak observed that 'All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers.³ Sometimes as a mark of distinction the *gandapendāra* or the anklet and bracelets were worn by men of distinction. For instance, to the celebrated poet Allasāni Peddaṇa, Krishnadēvarāya gave titles as well as the

¹ Paes in A Forgotten Empire – pp.252; p.273

² Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.248

³ Elliot H.M. – Op.Cit, p.109; Major R.H.- India in the Fifteenth Century, p.26

coveted anklet called *Kavigandarapendāra*.¹ Proudhadevarāya honoured Virakta Nagayya by giving bracelets, made up of precious stones.²

Women wore ornaments on all exposed parts of the body from top to toe. They used varieties of ornaments for the different parts of the body. Besides sculptures and chroniclers accounts, indigenous literature like *Mōhanatarangini* and others also give a few names of ornaments which were in vogue like: *Ole* or *Karna Patrike*, *Kantahmale*, *Baitalemani*, *Vaijayantihara*, *Udarabandha*, bangles of precious metals and glass, toe ring, *odyana* etc.³

Games and Amusements:

Games and amusements constituted an important part in the daily life of the people. As Vijayanagara was flourishing with prosperity, there was much scope for all classes of people to engage themselves in these activities. The Vijayanagara rulers inspite of their busy schedule with warfare, did not neglect the other livelier side of life. They spared time to allow themselves the pleasure and luxury of intellectual, healthy and colourful diversions. They provided their subjects, courtiers, royal ladies and themselves with various means and modes of enjoyment and entertainment that clearly enriched the Vijayanagara social life. Indigenous literary sources, foreign

¹ Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit, pp.264-265

² See Sheshagiri K.R. (Ed.) – Rudrakavi's Karasthala – Nagalinga Charite (Kan)

³ See Hiremath R.C. – Mohanatarangini (Kan)

traveller's accounts, sculptures, panels around *Mahānavamidibba* and temples give maximum information about the games and amusements of the Vijayanagara period.

Hunting was a popular past time among the royal class.¹ Hunting of deer, tiger, elephant, and boar was very popular as can be seen from the panels on *Mahānavamidibba*. Elephant hunting was specially patronized by the Rayas of Vijayanagara for one of the titles, of Dēvarāya II was *Gajabentekāra* or *Gajabekara*,² (Hunter of Elephants). Abdur Razzak gives a vivid description of the methods of hunting and catching, training elephants for hunting and other purposes.³ Dēvarāya II is said to have attempted a boar hunt.⁴ The kings very often took the title 'Gaja-mrigaya-vihara' (sportful hunter of elephant and deer). Especially king Virupāksha was fond of both elephant and deer hunting and was styled with the above title. Boar hunting was popular as it damaged the agricultural crops. Hence, boar hunting was continued. Like the boars, the elephants were also sacred and though they had their own utility in the warfare, dignified place in the royal court functions, they were hunted most probably they were trapped. Since ivory was in great demand and was generously used in furniture and other articles in the royal palaces, elephants were

¹ Major R.H. – Op.Cit, p.28

² A.S.R., 1907-08, p.250; ARSIE, 1931-32, Para 13; ARIE, 1977-78, No.81

³ Elliot H.M. – Op.Cit, pp.109-11

⁴ E.C. IV, Cn.195

perhaps hunted. Paes writes that, he saw a room full of ivory in the royal palace.¹

One of the travellers Varthema observed that the Capital as 'it occupies the most beautiful site..... with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same for fowling, so that it appeared to him to be a second paradise.² Generally the kings went for hunting with all their paraphernalia almost like an expedition. The people like *Boyas*, *Kiratakas* were supposed to offer help in finding out the wild animals and arranging for the hunt.³ Bows, arrows, short swords, daggers, spears were used in hunting. The kings maintained a large number of falcons, hawks and hounds for hunting and for the sport of chase. The hunting of various animals like deer, bear, tiger, elephant, were the focus of different sculptures of the *Mahanavamidibba*. Ladies holding bows and javelins on horseback were represented in the sculptural panels; and women hunting a wild boar was one of them. The sculptures of tribal women with bow and arrow are seen in the *Mahānavamidibba*. Hunting was a past time for women also in Vijayanagara times.

Horse riding was another popular past time for the ruling elite class as revealed from the temple sculptures and panels of the Throne Platform. The

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.285

² Vasundhara Filliozat – Vijayanagar, p.285

³ Venkataramanayya N. – Op.Cit, p.418

sculptures representing men riding on horses in different temples of the Capital City show that horses were used in great numbers. The Rayas took lively interest in horse – racing. There is a reference to a race course in the capital city. A gate of the city that led to it (race course) was known as ‘*Hastinaka*’.¹ Vijayanagara paintings depicting many figures riding on horse back vouch for the popularity of horse riding in the Vijayanagara period.

The martial games like wrestling, duelling, and fencing were promoted and encouraged by the Rayas of Vijayanagara. Wrestling was an important game in which the people of high and low class participated. It was a popular common past time for all classes of people. Nuniz writes that the king maintained more than a thousand wrestlers who had been assigned no other work nor duty other than wrestling. They exclusively enjoyed certain privileges such as unrestricted entry to palace enclosure, permission to sitdown in the presence of king etc. During festivals wrestling was common in the City. Both Nuniz and Paes provide many details about this popular game of the times. Paes describes in detail how emperor Krishnadevaraya spent his mornings in heavy exercises involving wrestling, sword fighting, horse riding, exercising with earthen weights.² He says that Krishnadevaraya used to wrestle each day with one of his wrestlers.³

¹ Suryakant Sastri – *Vardambika Parinaya* of Tirumalamba, Chowkambha Publications, Varanasi, 1970, p.70

² Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.249-250

³ Ibid., p.249

There were both male and female wrestlers. Paes records that women of Vijayanagara practised wrestling. He described about women who handled sword and shield, others who wrestled, and others who blew trumpets and pipes. Perhaps the dancing girls were also trained in the art of wrestling and they wrestled in the presence of the king and nobles during celebrations of the *Mahānavami* festival.¹ An extraordinary lady wrestler and contemporary of Krishnadevaraya was Hariakka.²

The Capital City and other provincial quarters had many gymnasiums, and wrestling grounds. For instance, Father Du Jarric left an interesting description of the gymnasium at Chandragiri, where noblemen took exercises almost every day before dinner, in order to be fit and healthy. Thus, men as old as seventy years looked only fifty.³ *Raghunāthābhīyudayam* of Vijayaraghava also mentions the existence of such a gymnasium at Tanjavūr.⁴ Krishnadevaraya in his *Amuktamālyada* writes that there were many gymnasiums and wrestling grounds in the Capital City.⁵

Duelling and Fencing were held in high repute in Vijayanagara. Duelling maintained its popularity and being such a common mode of

¹ Paes in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.248-249

² E.C. Vol.II, Sk.2

³ Henry Heras – The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Madras, 1927, pp.313-314

⁴ Aiyyangar S.K. – The Sources, p.265

⁵ Nirupama - Amuktamalyada (Kan), Kannada University, Hampi, Vidyaranya, 1999, p.14

entertainment that every day some body was slain in the game.¹ King Vira Narasimha promoted and popularised the game by presenting the winners with beautiful ladies.² The writings of Paes, Barbosa, Nuniz, Castenheda vouch for the popularity of duelling as a popular form of entertainment.³

Nuniz gives a tragic account of one of such duels causing death of the Gajapati Prince, Virabhadra Nayaka.⁴ Both *Madhuravijayam* and *Ramabhyudayam* refer to a duel in which the Sultan of Madhura met his death.⁵ A fragmentary inscription tells about a woman wrestler Hariakka in the capital who met with death to avenge the death of her father.⁶ There appears to have been special arena for duels.

The kings in the company of royal ladies and concubines occasionally enjoyed ‘*Vanavihāra*’ a pleasure trip to some beautiful garden or place. The city of Vijayanagara stood amidst picturesque surroundings with a number of beautiful picnic spots and sites. It was the responsibility of the Prime Minister to make arrangements for imperial entertainment and *Vanavihara*.⁷

Swimming was also a very popular sport in Vijayanagara. The foreign chronicler Linchosten and others noticed the expertise of

¹ Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit, p.417

² Ibid., p.416

³ Madhao P. Patil – Court Life Under The Vijayanagara Rulers, Delhi, 1999, p.156

⁴ Ibid., pp.319-320

⁵ Thiruvenkatachari – Op.Cit, Introduction, p.53

⁶ E.C. Vol.II, Sk.2

⁷ Suryakant Sastri – Op.Cit, p.110

Vijayanagara people in swimming, diving and rowing.¹ It was the best natural means to endure the scorching summers of Vijayanagara. The royal ladies were fond of it. There is a reference to Bukka's queen Dēvayi who expressed her desire to sport in Tamraparni during her pregnancy period.² Even Tirumalamba gives a very lively description of water sports in her *Varadāmbikaparinayam*.³

Aquatic sports, painting, music, chess, etc., were a few other general recreational activities of rich family ladies. The game of chess was mostly popular among the class of elite. Dēvarāya II was fond of playing chess, and on one occasion he played this game with Uttamanambi.⁴ Krishnādēvarāya's daughter Mōhanangi appears to have been an expert in chess.⁵ Kings not only played chess but also showed great regard to chess players of their times. Dice playing was also a popular game. Nandi Thimmayya, author of '*Pārijatapaharanamu*' was renowned for his skill in dice. In recognition of this Krishnādēvaraya granted him an *agrahara*.⁶

The Vijayanagara City had been a centre of culture and art from the time of its beginning until its fall from prosperity. Bas-reliefs on the structures of the Capital City show figures relating to dancing and music.

¹ Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit, p.426

² Thiruvenkatachari – Madhuravijayam, Canto-II.

³ Suryakant Sastri – Op.Cit, pp.67-69

⁴ Nagaraju H.M. – Deva Raya II and His Times, Mysore, 1991, p.157

⁵ Mahalingam T.V. – Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara, Madras, 1975, p.71; I.A., XXVII, p.299

⁶ Ibid., p.71

These two ancient arts were considered great accomplishments for women. The dancing girls of temples and professional dancers of the royal court were good exponents of these arts. Dance was encouraged by the state. Abdur Razzak was struck by the beauty of the dancing girls and dexterity of their movements. The palace had a ‘*Chitrasāla*’, and a ‘*Nātyasāla*’, or dancing hall, where the ladies of the royal household practised dancing to master various positions and postures of dances depicted on the panels. There was also a gymnasium for the ladies. The king used to watch these dances.¹ *Kolata* or stick play which was attached to dance was popular during Vijayanagara times. Pietro Dellavalle says that this was a festival which they celebrated for three days at the end of a certain feast in honour of Gauri, hence it was celebrated by girls. A series of sculptures on the walls of Vijayanagara temples and panels of *Mahānavamidibba* depict the picture of this popular game. Many sculptures testify to this.

Dance was held in high esteem during Vijayanagara times. It was a very common and popular mode of entertainment. The courtesans were officially attached to the royal court and army. They accompanied king when they went on expeditions and entertained the soldiers on the battle grounds. A great many courtesans had accompanied Krishnadevaraya’s army in the Raichur expedition according to Nuniz.² The dancing girls were

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit., p.289

² Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, pp.327-328

obliged to go to the royal palace every Saturday to dance before the king's idol. There are references in contemporary literatures to kings having ordered the dancers to serve in temples as temple dancers.¹

A big number of musicians both male and female, was associated with the royal court. The names of certain musical instruments like-*dande*, *tala*, *buruma*, *mridanga*, *kinnari*, *sannagale*, *vīne*, *mukhavine*, *vasekrolu*, *dōlu*, *mauri*, *bheri*, *gauru*, *gummata*, *dukka*, *dakki*, *chekki* etc., are mentioned by Krishnadēvarāya in *Amuktamālyada*.² Even some epigraphs of this period name the instruments like- *bheri*, *dundubi*, *mahamurāja*,³ and *vīna*.⁴

Krishnadēvarāya appointed Lakshminārāyana to teach music to the royal ladies. Rāma-amātya was a famous musician in the court of Aliya Rāmaraya. Krishnadēvarāya being very fond of music, learnt it under a renowned *guru* Krishna.⁵ Krishnadēvarāya was unrivalled in music and rhetorics.⁶ Great development of classical music called 'Karnataka music' may be traced to Vijayanagara period.⁷ The tradition of conducting musical performances in temples was continued and for such performances *mantapas* were erected in temples of the Capital City. Women were known

¹ T.T.D.I. – Vol.IV, pp.23, 265

² Nirupama – Op.Cit, P.17

³ E.C. VIII, Sb.153

⁴ E.C. II, Sb.258

⁵ Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit., p.413

⁶ E.I. I, p.401

⁷ Venkataramanayya N. – Op.Cit, p.425

to be well versed in two kinds of music, *Karnataka* and *Desi*. They were able to sing sweetly and to play on *vina* and *ravanahasta*. At the time of celebrations of the *Mahānavami* festival, Abdur Razzak noticed nine-storeyed, nicely ornamented edifice and the pavilions. There was an open space beautifully laid out in which singers and storytellers exercised their respective arts.¹ Kumāravyasa also gives details of the huge arena being constructed according to rules of architecture. Gallaries and tents were setup round about, in which many singers, dancers, and other entertainers displayed their performances at the time of *Mahānavami* festival celebration.²

Like dancers and singers, actors were also in the forefront in providing entertainment to the members of the royal court and to the public. Theatre going was much enjoyed by the people. Poet *Gangādhara*, a contemporary of king *Mallikārjunaraya* composed a great play in Sanskrit called ‘*Gangādāsaprata pavilasam*’ at the request of prince *Gangādāsa*, the ruler of the Pavachala state. But no one was found in that court to enact it. Hence an actor of the court of *Mallikārjunaraya* proposed to go to the court of *Gangadasa* to stage it there.³ Krishṇadevarāya’s ‘*Jāmbuvatikalyanam*’ was enacted before the people and nobles assembled to witness the *chaitra*

¹ Elliot H.M. – Op.Cit, pp.117-118

² Kumaravyasa *Bharata*, XVIII, Mysore, 1912, p.297 (Kan)

³ Aiyangar S.K. – Sources of Vijayanagar History, p.66

(spring) festival of Virupāksha at the Capital City.¹ Pandela Nagi, Bachhigadu or Nāṭṭur Nāgayya are referred to as the prominent members of the theatrical profession.² The themes presented in the dramas were based on epics and mythologies. Sometimes contemporary political and social themes also found a place on the stage.

Like drama, other kinds of stage play, puppet show, shadow play, or Bommalata was also a popular mode of entertainment. In this play main-cut outs were moved by means of strings by the *prasangi* (expounder) and the *pathak* (songster). The movements of the cut-outs were accompanied with suitable songs and conversations. They were nothing but the imitation of the dramas and attracted the people.

Cock fighting, bull fighting, buffallow fighting were also prevalent. The jugglers or acrobats entertained the court and public. The acrobats were called ‘*dombaru*’ The *Rāma Rāja Bakhair* narrates that a group of Telugu acrobats visited the court of Rāmarāya and enthralled it with their superb performance for four to six hours.³ The Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak describes how these acrobats played on bars and used tamed elephants in their show. In this way they gave great entertainment to the common people and nobles who had gathered at the capital for the *Mahānavami* festival.⁴

¹ Ibid., p.142

² Madhao P. Patil – Op.Cit, p.166

³ Nilakanta Sastry – Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Vol.III, Madras, 1946, p.264

⁴ Elliot – Op.Cit, IV, pp.118-119

There was another class of entertainers called *Vipra-Vinodins* in the capital,¹ who figure in epigraphs as giving various grants from the gifts they received from the king and the people.² Magic also provided a source of enjoyment. The *Amuktamalyada* says that magic was done with the help of ash, grass, peacock feather.³ Poet Kumāra Vyāsa mentioned some of the games, they played like *hidigavade* (game of cowries), *chinikolata* (modern *gillidanda*), *dandeya* (*dand* or *samu*), *gudugudu* (*kabadi*), *gummana badiva guddu* (knocking from behind and hiding), *gambada gadane* (game of pillars resembling modern musical chair), *kannu muchhāta* (hide and seek) *kuntuhalipe*.⁴ The floor of different temples were engraved with playing boards of different types and were played with dice and cowries. These were very popular among the commoners. The floor beds of Hazāra Rāma, Vitthala, Kadalekālu Ganēsha temples contain such boards of games like, *pagadi*, *huli* and goat etc.

Thus, it is very clear that the recreations and amusements played a notable and remarkable role in the society. Down through the ages recreational activities are noticed in some form or the other. These infuse a fresh interest in mind and prepare men physically as well as mentally fit to

¹ 694 of 1917

² Raghavacharya V. – Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Presidency, No.130, 144, 182, 326, 327, 434, etc.

³ Krishnadeva Raya – Amuktamalyada, 4-12

⁴ Kumaravyasa Bharata – Kumaravyasa Adiparva, XVII and V, pp.252-253; Seetharaiah M.V. – Kumaravyasa Bharata Sangraha (Kan); B.M.Sri.Smaraka Pratisthana, Bangalore, 1990, p.12

perform their duties in society. In the society of Vijayanagara beginning from the child-hood to old age a rich variety of past-time activities are noticed. They were determined by various factors like gender differences, regional, socio-political changes, etc., Thus, games and amusements indicate fairly the standard of culture, different tastes and fancies of the people in the Vijayanagara society. Games and amusements by serving as entertainments and past-time activities they brought all people together and promoted cultural integration. For some poor sections of the society they provided means of livelihood. These games and amusements gave many opportunities to artists to exhibit their talents in different fields of art. This the Vijayanagara society was familiar with both out door and in door games and amusements. And their love for fine arts such as –music, dance, drama filled their lives with happiness. Every possible care was taken by the Rayas to promote such games and amusements and they patronised many versatile artists.

Intellectuals:

The Rāyas of Vijayanagara were the undisputed sovereigns over the vast South Indian peninsula comprising of Kannada, Telugu and Tamil speaking areas. After consolidating their position the Rayas took keen interest in promoting literature, music, art and architecture, sculpture and dance etc,. The Rāyas liberally patronised men of letters and faculty of arts.

The love, encouragement and patronage of Vijayanagara kings, their nobles and feudatories resulted in the remarkable growth and development of literature, art, architecture, dance, music and painting. The age of the Vijayanagara Rayas characterised with an outburst of great literary activities. With the multi-linguistic character of the expanded empire, the Rayas encouraged various languages. The Vijayanagara capital city itself was a multilingual centre. The court patronage of Rayas brought about a revival of Kannada, Telugu, Sanskrit and Tamil literature containing much of originality. A renaissance in religion caused renaissance of literature. Hence, naturally voluminous and excellent religious and philosophical works were produced in large number.

The Vijayanagara empire was ruled by the kings of four dynasties like Sangama, Sāluva, Tuluva and Aravidu. Though Rayas, respected all the contemporary religions they took delight in assisting their sect a little more than others. The rulers of Sangama family gave preferential patronage to Saiva religion and Saiva literature. However, it is a fact that they showed equal importance and encouragement to all religions and consequently all languages and literature.

Being the capital city Vijayanagara attracted many people, different religious sects, and various social groups. Many scholars, the poets,

philosophers, singers, musicians, painters and others with no distinction of caste or creed received royal patronage in one way or the other way.

Sanskrit Works:

The age-old Sanskrit studies received a great impetus at the hands of Vijayanagara rulers. Vidyarnya, the most prominent and accomplished figure in the times of Bukkaraya I wrote many religious philosophical treatises. The important are *Anubhuti-prakasha* which deals with various interpretations of *Upanishads*. *Aparakoshanubhutidipika*, *Aitereya-dipika*, *Taitereya-dipika*, *Vivarna Prēma Sangraha*, were his other prominent works. The most notable fourteenth century literary celebrity was Madhavācharya. He had intimate relationship with the royal house of the Sangamas and was greatly honoured at Bukkaraya's royal court. He was the *Kulaguru* and minister of king Bukkaraya I. The credit of producing a great deal of standard works on various subjects ranging from philosophy to sacrificial rituals goes to him. His 'Parasara Mādhaviya', a commentary on 'Parasara Smiriti', was a work of great importance on civil and religious law. This work was regarded as an authority on Hindu law in South India. His another famous work is 'Kālanirnaya'. His other works are 'Jaiminiya malavistara', 'Jivanmuktivivēka', a work on *Advaitavēdanta*, 'Panchadasi', but his name and fame rest on his 'Sarvadarshana Sangraha'. It is an

excellent work on different *Dārshanika* systems that were prevalent from ages. He was also respected as *Kulaguru* and minister under Harihara II.

Sāyanāchārya, the younger brother of Madhavācharya was another great scholar in the court of Bukka I. He also served as the minister of Kampana I, and Sangama II. He participated in the administration of the kingdom as well as worked for the development of the Sanskrit literature. He devoted himself for preserving the old *Granthas* and writing commentaries on them. Sāyanacharya was a prolific writer and credited with 113 works.¹ He wrote ‘*Prāyaschitta-sudhanidhi*’ also known as ‘*Karmavipaka*’ describing the penances of different types for sins. ‘*Subhāshita Sudhānidhi*’, comprises of *slokas* from the books of the olden times. ‘*Purushārtha Sudhānidhi*’ is a collection of poems from the *purāṇas* compiled by Vyāsa Maharshi. ‘*Yajnatantra Sudhānidhi*’, on sacrifices. ‘*Alankāra Sudhānidhi*’, ‘*Ayurveda Sudhanidhi*’, ‘*Dhatu Vritti*’. He also wrote commentaries on Vedic literature except *Upanishads*. The following are some of the important commentaries like ‘*Atharva Veda*’, ‘*Taitereya Samhita*’, ‘*Taitereya Brahmana*’, ‘*Tāndya Brahmana*’, ‘*Taitereya Aranyaka*’, ‘*Sāma Veda Samhita bhāṣya*’, ‘*Rigveda bhāṣya*’ etc.,

Vidyā Mādhava’s ‘*Vidya mādhaviyam*’ is a work on Indian astrology and written during the early period of the kingdom. Vishnu, Vidyā

¹ Ram Sharma M.H. – The History of Vijayanagar Empire, Vol.I, (Ed.) M.H.Gopal – Bombay, 1978, p.32

Madhavas's son who was patronised by Bukkarāya I wrote commentary on this work. This work is considered as one of the important works of the medieval times. This work contains 15,000 *slōkas* including commentary. It gives some interesting details of the social aspects of the contemporary society.

Bhōganatha was the brother of Madhavācharya and Sayanacharya. Sāyana in his work 'Alankāra Sudhānidhi' mentions about his brother and his works. They are: 'Ramollasa', 'Tripura Vijaya', 'Uddharanamala', 'Mahaganapati Stava', 'Sringara Manjari', and 'Gaurinathashtaka'. Jayatīrtha, was another scholar at court of Bukkarāya I, and some thirty seven works are attributed, his 'Nyāya sudha pramana paddhati' is prominent one.

Bukkarāya I's reign witnessed extraordinary literary revival of Sanskrit which led to a considerable progress of three renowned South Indian sects-'Smārtha', 'Sri Vaishnava' and 'Madhva'. He encouraged the pursuit writing commentaries on the *Vedas* under the guidance and supervision of Madhavācharya and Sayanācharya brothers. The king rightly took the titles 'Vedamārga Prathisthāpaka' and 'Vedamārga Pravarthaka'.

Kings and queens of Vijayanagara were also good at literature. Gangadevi, the wife of Kampana, and a daughter-in-law of Bukkarāya I wrote 'Madhurāvijayam' or 'Virakampanarāyacharitam', a *mahākavya* in

vaidarbhi style. As she had accompanied her husband to the battle field it gives an eye witness description of her husband's attack on Madhurai. This book is in nine Cantos. In the Canto I she gives the names of contemporary literary luminaries.

She describes the city of Vijayanagara in her work. Her description of the city comes close to the description as given by the foreign visitors who visited the city in its hey day of prosperity. The conditions prevailed in the 15th century in South India can be known from her work. Probably this is the only work to deal with the historical aspects of the South India in early part of the 15th century. It also tells the story of the expansion of the Vijayanagara rule into the Tamil country and the circumstances leading to it.

In the history of Vijayanagara under the first line of Sangamas, the rule of Dévaráya II is rightly hailed as the 'golden age in literature'. A number of great scholars from all over South India flocked to his royal court. His liberal patronage made Vijayanagara City to acquire the reputation of a centre of learning and literature in the whole of South India. His royal court was the paradise and meeting centre of Jaina, Vaishnava, Srivaishnava, and Vírasaiva scholars. King Dévaráya II being neither much impressed with the doctrines of Jainism preached by Nemichandra nor that

of Vaishnavism by Madhvas, turned to Saivism. In a record of A.D. 1418 Dēvarāya II is spoken of as 'Virasaivāgama-Sampanna'.¹

Gauda Dindima Bhatta was the great Sanskrit poet in his court. Irugappa-Dandanāyaka, who was in the imperial army from the time of Harihara II till Dēvarāya II's rule, was the author of 'Nanārtha-Ratnamala'.² Among the three literatures, Kannada rose to prominence and received his generous patronage. Most of the Vīraśaiva poets of Dēvarāya II's period were scholars in two languages one was their mother-tongue and the other was Sanskrit. Among such Virasaiva scholars, Maggeya Mayideva was the author of two Sanskrit works 'Anubhava-Sutra' and 'Viseshartha-Prakāsika'. Chandrashekha or Chandrakavi was 'ashta-bhāsha-kavi' or the poet of eight languages and he must have been well versed in Sanskrit too. Vāmana Bhatta seems to have resided at the capital for sometime and composed one of his works called 'Bhava Śringārabhushana'. It is said to have been enacted during the festival of God Sri Virupāksha of the place.³

Dēvarāya II was not only a great patron of poets and scholars but he himself was a good scholar. He was the author of the 'Ratiratnadipika' and

¹ Srikanta Sastri S. – Development of Sanskrit Lit. Under Vijayanagara; Vij.Comn.Vol., p.309

² Ibid., p.302

³ Mahalingam T.V. – Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara, Pt.II, p.268

the *Brahmasutravritti*, a commentary on the *Brahmasutras* of Bādarayana, following the *Advaita* of Shankara.¹

Sāluva Narasimha was also a good Sanskrit scholar and credited with the authorship of ‘*Rāmābhuyūdayam*’. Rajanātha Didima, the author of ‘*Sāluvābhuyūdayam*’ was one of his eminent court poets.

The reign of Krishnadevarāya was a glorious chapter in the literary history. In his royal court flourished the poets and scholars of Sanskrit and Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. The king was not merely a patron of letters but he himself was a scholar of rare merit. He had mastery not only in Telugu but also in Sanskrit language. His reign is one of the brightest periods in Telugu literature but Sanskrit and other Dravidian languages received equal support and patronage.

Lolla Lakshmidhara and Divākara, the two poets were formerly in the court of Virapratāpa Rudra Gajapati at Cuttack. After Krishnadevarāya’s conquest they became the court poets at Vijayanagara. Lakshmidhara wrote many works on *Samhita*, *Sāhitya*, *Agama*, *Jyotisya* and philosophy. He wrote commentary on Shankara’s ‘*Saundaryalahari*’, in which he claims the authorship of the ‘*Saraswati Vilāsam*’, an important work on law.² Like him, the other poet Divākara, who was associated with the Gajapati court wrote a *mahākāvya* based on *Mahābhārata* known as ‘*Bhāratamitra*’.

¹ Raghavan V. The Brahma Sutra Vritti of Praudhadeva Raya, Vij. Sexcentenary Comm. Volume, p.377

² Aiyangar S.K. – Sources of Vijayanagar History, p.151

Krishnadēvarāya's Prime Minister Saluva Timmarasu was also a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote commentary called 'Manōrama' on Agastya's 'Bāla Bharata'. Bhandam Lakshminarayana was the *Nātyacharya* in the court of Krishnadēvarāya. He wrote a work on music in five chapters called 'Sangita Suryōdaya' and dedicated it to Krishnadēvarāya. This work throws a welcome light on Krishnadēvaraya's early campaigns.

Krishnadēvaraya was a distinguished patron of poet laureates among all the Rayas of Vijayanagara. Nandi Timmanna described him as the 'Rāsajna' and 'Kavita Prāvinya phanisa Krishna Rāya Mahisa' and also styled in one of the epigraphs as 'Sangīta Sāhitya Samarangana Sārvabhouma',¹ i.e. a Sovereign in the Field of Music, Literature as well as Battle. He is said to have written many Sanskrit and Telugu works.

In the introductory part in 'Amuktamālyada', Krishnadevaraya states that he wrote the following Sanskrit works. 1. *Madalasa-charitra* 2. *Jnānachintāmani* 3. *Satyavadhupraranamu* 4. *Sakalakatha Sāra Sangraham* 5. *Rasmanjari*. However, unfortunately all the above works are not available. The Sanskrit play of Krishnadēvarāya is 'Jāmbuvati-kalyāñam' and Telugu *Mahākāvya* called 'Amuktamālyada' are preserved. The drama 'Jambuvathi-kalyāñam' is in five acts and was enacted during

¹ S.I.I. Vol.No.264; A.R.No.34 of 1889

the *chaitra* (Spring) festival of Virupāksha, the tutelary god of Karnatak Empire residing at Hemakuta, in the city of Vijayanagara.¹

Rajanātha Dindima, the author of ‘*Achyūtarāyābhūdayam*’ was the court poet of king Achyūtarāya. In the royal court flourished the poetess Tirumalāmba, authoress of ‘*Varadāmbika parinayam*’, and she was his queen too. She composed a Sanskrit verse to commemorate the gift of *Suvarnameru* by Achyūtaraya in A.D. 1533 and the verse is inscribed in the Vitthala temple at the Capital City of Vijayanagara.²

Telugu Literature:

The best part of the Telugu literature in the Vijayanagara period was the product of the patronage of Vijayanagara Rayas and their viceroys. Under each Vijayanagara dynasty, Telugu literature grew both in volume and literary merit. It is said that Telugu literature did not flourish under the direct patronage of the Sangama dynasty; yet it had its own striking growth during the century in which that dynasty guided the destiny of the Empire.³

Among the Telugu scholars of the period mention may first be made of Nāchana Sōmanātha Kavi, a Court poet of Bukkarāya I, who wrote ‘*Uttaraharivamsam*’, using the Sanskrit ‘*Harivamsa*’ as the basis of his work. Under the patronage of Siddana, a minister of Dēvarāya I, Jakkana

¹ Nidhathavole Venkat Rao – V.S.C.V., p.232

² S.I.I. Vol. IX, Pt.II, No.557 and 558

³ Iswara Dutt K. – Telugu Lit. Under Vijayanagara Empire, p.54, Vij.Commemoration Volume

wrote ‘*Vikramārkachritram*’, in pleasing and elegant style. During the reign of Dēvarāya II the Telugu poets and scholars received commendable royal patronage. Srinatha, a poet of exceptional quality who had easy command over Telugu, Sanskrit and Prakrit, adorned the court of Dēvarāya II. Praudhadēvaraya showered him on gold and bestowed the title ‘*Kavi Sārvabhouma*'.¹ His monumental works are: ‘*Kāsikhandam*’, ‘*Bhimēśvarapurānam*’, ‘*Harivilāsam*’, ‘*Palanati Vira Charita*’. His ‘*Sringara Naishadham*’ is a translation of Harsha’s ‘*Naishadha-Kāvya*’. He also wrote ‘*Sivarātri mahātyam*’ and composed many *chatus* or stray verses. Sharada was a gifted poetess of the court of Dēvarāya II. She wrote eighteen dramas and two *Prakrit* works.² ‘*Ontimetta Raghuvira Sātakam*’ was composed by Tippayya. As he was a court poet, he was called ‘*Rāya kavi*’ or the ‘king’s poet’. Vennelakanti Suranna, author of ‘*Vishnu-purānamu*’ was also patronised by Dēvarāya II.

It was given to Sāluva Narasimha and his general Narasa Nāyaka to initiate a new era in the realm of Telugu literature. Their patronage was so consistent that the Vijayanagara court later turned out to be the very heaven of the Telugu poets.³ Sāluva Narasimha was a great Sanskrit scholar. He patronised many poets. The court poet Arunagirinātha composed

¹ Narasimacharya R. – History of Kannada Lit. pp.21-28

² Mahalingam T.V. – Op.Cit, Pt.II, p.280

³ Sree Rama Sharma P. – Tuluva Dynasty, Hyderabad, 1979, p.265

‘*Sāluvabhyudayam*’ and it was dedicated to the king. Pina Viranna wrote ‘*Jaimini Bharatam*’. Though Sāluvas ruled the empire for a short period, their patronage for Telugu literature was considerable, when compared with that of the previous dynasty.

Telugu literature under the Tuluva dynasty grew much more remarkably. The reign of Krishnadēvarāya is known as the ‘Agustun age of Telugu literature’. He himself being a born scholar, a prolific writer and a musician par excellence, the literary activities received a great fillip in his royal court. As he personally considered Telugu to be the ‘best of vernaculars’, Telugu literature soared to new heights in his reign. Pre-Krishnadēvarāya Telugu literature was largely confined to translations and adaptions of Sanskrit ancient works. During the time of Krishnadēvarāya this style came to an end and *Prabhandas* of *Kāvya* type acquired more prominence.

Krishnadēvarāya showed great regard for Telugu poets and scholars, towards some of whom he entertained genuine personal affection. Very early in his reign, he constituted an academy of Telugu poets, the members of which were known as the “*Ashtadiggajas*”. They were:

1. Allasāni Peddana.
2. Nandi Timmaṇa.
3. Ayyalaraju Rāmabhadrakavi.
4. Dhurjati.

5. Mādayyagāri Mallana.
6. Pingali Suranṇa.
7. Ramaraja Bhushana.
8. Tenali Ramakrishna.

Krishnadēvaraya's royal court was called “*Bhuvanavijaya*”, in which all the above ‘*Ashtadiggajas*’ flourished. Besides these there were also others, who though not admitted to this learned body of academy, belonged to the Raya's literary galaxy.

The most illustrious literary figure among ‘*Ashtadiggajas*’ was Allasani Peddaṇa, who had the title ‘*Andhra Kavita Pitāmaha*’. He is remembered by his great work ‘*Manucharita*’. His influence in the royal court was very great and he was a great favourite of Krishnadēvaraya. He was the high ranking literary figure of the day and his work became the best model for the succeeding ages.

Nandi Timmaṇa was another important associate Poet Laureate of Krishnadēvaraya's royal court. He wrote ‘*Pārijātāpaharanam*’ and it was dedicated to the emperor. Mādayyagāri Mallana wrote ‘*Rājasēkhara charita*’. Dhurjati wrote ‘*Kalahasti Mahātmyam*’ and ‘*Kālahastisvāra śatakam*’. Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadrakavi compiled ‘*Sakalakathasāra Sangraha*’ at the command of Krishnadēvaraya and ‘*Rāmābhuyūdayam*’ at the time of Aliya Rāma Rāya. Pingalisuranṇa and Rāmarāja Bhushana though they were in the royal court, wrote after the reign of

Krishnadevaraya. Pingali Suranna's 'Kalapurnodayam' and 'Raghava Pandaviyam' are well known. 'Vasucharitra' was written by Rama Raja Bhushana. Tenali Ramakrishna wrote 'Udbhataradhya-charitramu'.

Krishnadevaraya himself was a poet of a high order. As an accomplished scholar he wrote this magnum opus 'Amuktamalyada' or 'Vishnuchittia' in Telugu. This treatise elaborately displays his personality, scholarship, worldly wisdom, deep knowledge of political science, religious understanding and sense of devotion to god,¹ it is rated as one of the *panchamahā kāvya* in Telugu literature. Krishnadevaraya's rich patronage fostered the growth of Telugu language and literature. His royal court was studded with saints, philosophers, poets, scholars, for two decades, his reign marked a water mark in the history of literature of South India. The royal court of Vijayanagara under him became a place of pilgrimage to all men of letters, especially to those who chose Telugu as the medium of their expression.²

Kannada Literature:

In the Vijayanagara period, as in Sanskrit and Telugu, a large number of works in Kannada were produced dealing with different subjects. The Kannada literature developed under three religious groups, Jaina, Virashaiva

¹ R.C.Mujumdar – History and Culture of Indian People, B.V.B., Vol.VI, 1960, p.590

² Venkata Ramanayya – Op.Cit, p.241

and Brahmin. For their works the writers drew material from their respective religious literature. Some works of secular subjects were also written in the Vijayanagara period.

Viraśaivism received considerable royal patronage from the Sangamas. Bhīmakavi, Gurudēva, Padmanānka were the early Kannada poets. Bhīmakavi translated Palkurke Somanatha's '*Basavapurāṇam*' into Kannada. He also wrote '*Bhīma Kavishwara Ragale*' and '*Bhringidandaka*'. Padmanānka wrote '*Padmamarājapurana*'. One of the epigraphs of A. D. 1386 refers to Harihara as '*Karnataka Vidyāvilasa*'¹ for his encouragement towards Kannada.

The reign of Dēvarāya II was particularly favourable for the promotion of Kannada literature. Lakkanna Dandesha, the Prime Minister and Commander-in-chief of the royal army was the most prominent personality. He wrote '*Sivatatva Chintāmani*', in which he called the Capital City Vijayanagara as '*Vijayakalyāṇapura*'. He describes how the city was built, with proper plan. Mahalingadēva was the author of '*Ekottara Shatsthala*' and '*Prabhudevvara Shatsthala Jnana Charita Vachanada Tike*'. For the first time in the history of Viraśaiva literature Mahalingadēva attempted to explain Viraśaiva philosophy by writing commentaries on the *vachanas* of Allamaprabhu. The other court poets were Chamarasa and

¹ E.C. VI, Kp.34

Kumāra Vyāsa who occupied the highest place not only as brilliant poets but also as scholars they were respected by the emperor. Chamarasa wrote ‘*Prabhulingalile*’, a remarkable book in Vīraśaiva literature. It tells the story of Allama Prabhu, an intellectual mystic and the brain behind the Vīraśaiva movement. It is a matter of pride for the lovers of Kannada and Telugu literature that Paiduparti Somanātha translated into Telugu the ‘*Prabhulingalile*’ of Chamarasa during Devaraya II.¹

Kumara Vyāsa wrote ‘*Bhārata*’ popularly known as ‘*Gadugina Bhārata*’. It is one of the very best works in the Kannada language. He describes the court of Rāyas, and often the description comes close to the accounts of chroniclers. In his work he calls the Capital City as ‘Gajanagara’.

Jakkanārya, familiarly known as Jakkana was a disciple of Mahalingadēva. He was a *Dandanāyaka* in the army under Dēvaraya II, and as being a man of valour and a merited scholar, must have enjoyed the favour of the emperor. He was an ardent follower of Vīraśaivism and had the title ‘*Parama Vīraśivāganacharya*’. He reproduced from Sanskrit a work entitled ‘*Ekottarastala*’, also known as ‘*Nūrondustala*’.

Chandrakavi or Chandrashekha at the suggestion of Gururāja, the minister of Dēvaraya II, wrote ‘*Virūpāksha Sthāna*’ in *champu*, a literary

¹ Narasimhacharya R. – History of Kannada Lit., p.21

style in which the narration in poetry is blended with prose.¹ He appears to have been well versed in eight languages ‘*ashṭabāṣha*’.

Maggeya Mayideva, a Viraśaiva prolific writer at the Capital City was an *Ubhayakavi* who wrote in Kannada and Sanskrit in Dēvarāya II’s time. He wrote works in Sanskrit on Viraśaivism like: ‘*Sivanubhava-Sūtra*’ and ‘*Viśeshārthaprakāshike*’ and ‘*Sivadhava Śataka*’, ‘*Sivavallabha Śataka*’, ‘*Mahadaipuriśvara Śataka*’; and three *śataka* works in Kannada,² and also he wrote ‘*Ekottara Shatstala Shatpadi*’, ‘*Shatstala-gadya*’, ‘*Prabhugīte*’, ‘*Maggeya Mayideva Vachana*’ etc.

During the rule of Praudhadēvarāya II Vijayanagara became a great centre of Viraśaiva activities. Including emperor many generals like Lakkaṇṇa Dāñdesha, Jakkaṇāraya promoted Viraśaivism and gave patronage to Viraśaiva poets. Consequently vast literature of Viraśaivism was produced.

During Krishṇadēvarāya’s time Kannada literature received great impetus. Timmaṇṇa, son of Bhanukavi, known as ‘*Karnataka Kavi Sarvabhauma*’, completed the *Kannada Mahabharata* left unfinished by Kumara Vyāsa who wrote only the first ten chapters, and from the *Śanti-Parva* he completed it. He dedicated it to emperor Krishṇadēvarāya. This

¹ Narasimhacharya R. – Kannada Kavi Charite, Vol.II, pp.97-100

² S.S.Bhoosnurmath (Ed.) – Vijayakalyana, Hampi, 1988, p.84.

work is also called as ‘*Krishna Rāja Bhārata*’ or ‘*Karnataka Krishnarāya Bhārata manjari*’.

The most eminent Madhva teachers of the early 16th Century and a contemporary of Krishnadevarāya was Vyāsārāya or Vyāsathirtha. Vijayanagara was his main base from about A. D. 1499 till his death in A. D. 1539.¹ He was the *Rājaguru* or Royal Preceptor of Krishnadevarāya and Achyūtarāya.² His influence in the royal court was very high. The archaeological data of his presence in the city, besides his *brindavana* is supplied by two inscriptions in the Vitthala temple: the first epigraph of Krishnadevarāya dated A. D. 1513 states that three shares of the food offerings were assigned to guru Vyāsārāya,³ the second, of Achyūtarāya’s reign dated A. D. 1532, records the installation of *Yoga Varada Narasimha* in the courtyard of the Vitthala temple by Vyāsārāya.⁴

As a proficient scholar in both Sanskrit and Kannada Vyāsārāya wrote many works like ‘*Tatparya-Chandrika*’, ‘*Tarka-Tandava*’, and ‘*Nyāyamrita*’, which are generally called ‘*Vyāsātraya*’. He has written many *Kirtanas* in Kannada, which are still sung and are full of devotion in praise of Sri Krishna. He was also the commentator of ‘all the *Sastra*s’ and was called the *Vaishnava Siddhanta Pratisthapanāchārya*.⁵ He also spread the

¹ B.Venkata Rao – Introduction to Sri Vyayogi Charitam, p.xiii and p.xviii

² R.Rama Rao – Hinduism Under Vijayanagara Kings, p.50

³ S.I.I. – Vol.IV, No.277

⁴ ARSIE of 1922, No.710

⁵ M.E.R. 1905, Para 33

teachings of Mādhvāchārya in Kannada through the medium of *Kīrtanas*, *Suladis*, and *Ugabhōgas*.

During this period *Dāsa Sāhitya* was very popular. *Bhakti* poet-saints among the Mādhva ascetics were called *Haridāsas*. These saints were devoted particularly to Viṭṭhala. Vijayanagara City was frequented by them and some even lived and died in the city. The first among the *Haridāsas* was Narahari Tīrtha who lived and died in the Capital City. The next saint of this line was Śripādarāya, who was followed by Vyāsaraya. Particularly, Vyāsaraya popularised this movement. And some of the greatest of the *Haridāsas* viz Purandara dāsa, Kanaka dāsa, and Vādirāja were his disciples.¹ On account of his ability Vyāsaraya organised the ‘*Dāsakūṭa*’.

The best known among the *Dāsa* was Purandara-dāsa who visited the Vijayanagara City during the days of Krishnadevarāya. He dedicated himself to god singing in praise of the Lord and propagating *bhakti* among the people. His songs are full of devotional fervour and convey great philosophical ideas in simple language, so that the people could understand. He composed numerous songs and went about the country singing and calling on men to lead good and meaningful life. Perhaps none knew better the power of music than Purandaradāsa. He made full use of music in his life’s mission of elevating people and making them god-minded. Some-

¹ MAR of 1941, pp.189-190

times he is called with the title ‘*Karnataka Sangīta Pitāmaha*’ (Father of Karnataka Music).

Another *Dāsakuta* member and contemporary of Krishnadevaraya was Kanakadāsa. Like Purandaradāsa, he accepted *dāsa-diksha*, followed the devotional path and popularised the tenets of Mādhva philosophy through the Kannada language. Kanakadāsa wrote ‘*Mōhanatarangini*’, ‘*Nalacharitra*’, ‘*Ramadhānya Charitra*’, ‘*Haribhakti Sāra*’. And he was also known for the composition of innumerable *Kirtanas* dealing with self-realisation through devotion to Lord Hari, those of which explain the fundamental tenets of Mādhva and also those attacking the social and moral evils of life.

The *Mōhanatarangini* was the first poetic work composed by Kanakadāsa. In his work he offers a detailed description of the flora and fauna and scenic beauty of the area. The description of the city of Dwāraka by him perhaps was nothing but that of Vijayanagara City. He also wrote that the city was populated by a variety of people like artists, priests, scholars, women etc. The description of the palace by him is very excellent. His description of different markets, streets of craftsmen comes close to the writings of the chroniclers who visited the Vijayanagara Capital City during the reign of Krishnadevaraya.

In the latter half of the 16th Century Virupāksha Pandita lived in the city of Vijayanagara and wrote ‘*Channabasava Purana*’ in Kannada in A. D. 1585.¹ His work describes the city, calling it as Kalyana of king Bījala. His description rightly refers to the City of Vijayanagara. The authors like Kanakadāsa and Virupāksha Pandita, give us valuable details of the Vijayanagara City, its glory and greatness. Sometimes, they may not be describing the city of Vijayanagara by its name as such in the context of the subject of their work they may be describing a city by another appropriate name but still it is the description of Vijayanagara itself.

Like Śaivas and Vaishnavas, Jains too enriched the Kannada literature in the Vijayanagara period. Poets like Bāhubali and Madhura Mādhava flourished in the royal court of Harihara Mahārāya. Each wrote in the traditional *champu* style a poem on the life of Dharmanātha, the 15th Tirthankara. Bāhubali also wrote on the first Tirthankara. Madhura Mādhava was well known for his ‘*Dharmanātha Purana*’. It is believed that the same writer Madhura also composed an inscription near Krishna temple in Krishnāpura at the Capital City in A. D. 1410, when his patron was Lakshmidhara, minister of Dēvarāya.² Nemichandra, a great Jaina scholar received a victory certificate from Dēvarāya II, when he had defeated all his

¹ Virupaksha Pandita – Channa Basava Purana, Dharwad, 1934, p.1

² D.L.Narasimachar – V.S.C.V., p.352

religious opponents in the debate at the royal court.¹ Abhinavavadi Vidyānanda who wrote ‘*Kavyasāra*’, was at Vijayanagara City at the time of Krishnadēvarāya.² The number of Jaina writers in the City was less. They had not only written on Jaina religion and theological subjects but also on various other subjects.

Tamil literature

After Virakampana's conquest the Tamil country became part and parcel of the Vijayanagara empire. It led to the development of Tamil literature, peace and prosperity in the Tamil country. The connection of the Tamil poets with the Vijayanagara court appears to have begun with the reign of Dēvarāya II. The Saiva poet Arunagirinātha, was one of the principal men of letters at his court.

During the time of Krishnadēvarāya several scholars and poets flocked at the Vijayanagara city attracted by the bountiful gifts of the emperor. A number of great scholars in Tamil were patronised in his court. Kumāra Saraswati, some of whose verses describe the conquest of Kalinga, and Krishnadēvarāya's marriage with the daughter of the Gajapati. He had mastery over the four languages. Mandalapurusha a Tamil Jain author of the ‘*Chudāmani Dictionary*’ in Tamil flourished in the court of the emperor

¹ D.L.Narasimachar – Karnataka Kavi Charite, Vol.I, pp.128-130

² Venkat Rao N. – V.S.C.V., p.238

Krishnadēvarāya. Hariharadāsa, an exponent of both Saivism and Vaishnavism was famous for his work ‘*IrusamayaVilakkam*’. Jnana Prakāsar, author of *Manjarippa* and others like Tirumalainatha, Tandavaraya Svāmigal, Vadnalayar, Virakaviryar, etc. all flourished in his royal court.¹

Thus the Rayas, encouraged men of letters of Dravidian languages and Sanskrit. The imperial royal court attracted many scholars, not only from all over their empire, but also from outside. The Rayas being cultured gave shelter and patronised many scholars, poets and philosophers, who flourished in the Vijayanagara court.

¹ Madhao P. Patil – Court Life under Vijayanagara Rulers, pp.103-104

CHAPTER-VII

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

In no other country is religion so closely interwoven with the life of the people as in India. All the habits, usages, food, dress, social and political life are greatly influenced by religion. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the religious conditions of South India were intensely deplorable. Hinduism received a big threat from the Muslim invasions. Under such critical conditions to protect Hindus, Hinduism and to preserve the culture and the heritage of Hinduism the Vijayanagara empire was established by the Sangama brothers at Vijayanagara. The rise of Vijayanagara empire opened a new era in the sphere of religion and the construction of temples. The Rayas of Vijayanagara were not only the champions in wars but also in the field of religion and culture. It was because of their deliberate policy of tolerance towards all faiths and sects, the Hinduism, Jainism, Islam and Christianity flourished in the empire. In the Capital City religions like Saivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Islam were patronised. The religious practices and beliefs of these faiths continued unhindered; besides there were some religious developments.

The Rayas of Vijayanagara continuously undertook the work of temple construction and there by were responsible for the emergence of huge temples, which were the core centres of various faiths. The emergence

of different temples resulted in the creation of *puras* and suburbs, catered to the needs of the people and fulfilled the religious rituals and promoted the religious harmony in the capital city. They set an example to their successors to follow catholicity and tolerance in religious matters. It was because of the liberal and wholehearted donations, and the encouragement given to the practice of various religions that led to the development of religious culture in the City of Vijayanagara. Foreign travellers like Abdur Razzak, Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz were surprised at the celebration of festivals on a grand scale. The *Dasara* festival, which was started originally by the Rayas of Vijayanagara, is still celebrated by the people of Karnataka with great pomp and splendour. Thus, the Vijayanagara rulers left a lasting impression in the minds of the people of Karnataka in particular and South India in general. The Saiva, Vaishnava traditions, particularly of the *Alvars*, the *Purātanās*, had a deep impact on the life of the people. Besides, the Madhva sect that originated in Karnataka also had a considerable degree of influence on people in the City and empire. However, Sri Vaishnavism was highly dominant especially from the beginning of Krishnadevaraya's rule. The golden age of the Vijayanagara empire was an Age of the harmonious co-existence of the schools of *advaita*, *visishtadvaita* and *dvaita* and

important sects like Śaivism, Vaishnavism and Vīraśaivism on the one hand, and Jainism on the other.¹

The centuries just prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire were characterised by intense religious activity in Southern India. Various sects and sub-sects emerged, temples assumed great importance and mathas fostered the spread of religion and learning.² Hinduism prevailed in ancient Karnataka. Majority of the people were the followers of Hinduism. Religions like Śaivism, Vaishnavism and Vīraśaivism flourished the Capital City. The Vaishnavas and Saivas constituted a large majority. Besides, other religions like Islam and Christianity also received royal patronage. All these religions played an important role in the life of the people in the Vijayanagara City.

Śaivism:

As the Sangama rulers of Vijayanagara were the followers of Saiva sect and by this reason Śaivism gained royal patronage. It was the major and most popular religion of Vijayanagara and had a fairly large following drawn from all classes of society. Almost all the well known streams of

¹ Nagaraja Rao P. – Religion and Philosophy – Dvaita, Karnataka Through the Ages, Govt. of Karnataka, 1968, p.579

² Verghese Anila – Archaeology, Art and Religion New Perspectives on Vijayanagara, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000

Saivism like *Pasúpatha*, the *Kālamukha* mention in the Vijayanagara inscriptions and literary works written by the court poets.

According to a legend Pañpadevi was a mental creation of Brahma, one of the *Trimūrties*. She performed penance on the bank of the river Tungabhadra to please Siva and marry him. Finally Siva being pleased with her penance invited her to come to Hemakuta and there the marriage of Siva and Pampadēvi was celebrated. This scene is painted in the *Mantapa* of Virupāksha temple. The court poet Harihara who was staying at Hampi wrote a famous work in kannada called *Girijakalyāna*. The name of the place Hampi is derived from the name Pampadēvi. Hampi was one of the popular Śaiva centres since ancient times.

Pasúpata School:

Lakulīsa was the founder of the *Pasúpata* school of Śaivism. He was considered an *avatāra* of Lord Śiva and Panchārthika was their specific philosophy. The Vijayanagara records give valuable information about this school. An inscription dated A.D. 1374 refers to Virakamapanā Odēyar's son, Nanjanṇa Odēyar, who granted an *Agrhara* to the great Pasúpata Vratāchārya Akasāvāsi Sankyādi-guru of a very high order.¹ Śankara guru,

¹ E.C. Vol.III, Ng.108

Mahēshwarachārya and Mantramurtigalu were the other pāshupata achāryās of the period.¹

Kalamukha School:

The Sangamas were great patrons of the Kalmukha school of Saivism. The *Kriyasaktis* figure prominently in the records of these rulers. According to one view these *Kriyasaktis* were *Pasūpatas*.² But the probability seems to be that they were *Kalmukhas*.³ Venkata Subbaiah says, 'while the names ending in Śiva, Rāsi and Ābharana are sometimes borne by Śaivas now belonging to the *Kalmukha* sect, the names ending in Śakti do not seem to have been borne by any but the *Kalmukhas*'.⁴

The name *Kriyasakti*-Yati is found in a record dated A.D. 1347, which describes him as a Śaiva Guru devoted to the worship of Triyambaka⁵ and some inscriptions refer to him as the spiritual *guru* of the Sangamas.⁶

An epigraph of A.D. 1362 states that Basavayya *Dannayaka*, an officer of *Bukkaraya* I, granted the village *Bhavikere* to *Kriyasakti*-Yati. *Bukka* II, son of *Harihararaya* II was a disciple of *Kriyasakti*.⁷ An epigraph of A.D. 1397 tells us that *Kriyasakti* was the *Rājaguru*.⁸ Another inscription

¹ MER – 1913, No.143

² Mahalingam T.V. – Administration and Social – II, p.307

³ E.I. – Vol.V, pp.222-226

⁴ QJMS – Vol.VII, p.178

⁵ E.C. Vol.VIII, Sb.375

⁶ Ibid. Sk.281, Th.133; E.I., Vol.XIV, pp.68-83

⁷ E.C. Vol.X, Mb.II

⁸ MAR, 1912, Para – 99.

of A.D. 1390, inscribed on a boulder to the west of Hēmakuta hill, again refers to Nāgappa, a devotee of Kriyaśakti who constructed a well known as a *Vinayaka Asvatha Bhavi*.¹ Thus, the *Kalamukhas* were decorated with very high position by the rulers of the first dynasty.

Virasaivism:

Virasaivism was propounded by lord Basavēśvara. The Sangamas were Śaivās and later works seem to indicate that they were Virasaivas. Anantacharya's *Prapannāmrītam* narrates that king Virupāksha II as Vīraśaiva and later on he embraced Śrīvaishṇavism. An inscription of Devaraya II refers to him as *Vīraśivāgama Sarasampanna*,² and according to another inscription he was as an ardent devotee of Śri Mallikārjuna of Śrisaila, an important Vīraśaiva centre.³ Lakkanṇa Dāñdesa, Ariyappa Dandanāyaka, Bhandāra Jakkappa were the Vīraśaiva officers under Dēvarāya II. Among them Lakkanṇa Dāñdesha played an important role during the Śri Lanka expedition. In A.D. 1420 Lakkanṇa Dāñdesha constructed a *gopura* to the Virupaksha temple in Virupaksha pura and got excavated a tank called *Manmatha Pushkarṇi*.⁴ He was also popular by his work *Sivatatva chintāmani*. During the time of Sangamas some Vīraśaiva

¹ Nagaraja Rao M.S. and Patil C.S. – V.P.R. 1984-87, p.33

² MAR – 1923, p.91

³ E.C.III, Sb.126

⁴ E.C. Vol.X, Ki.104

literary works were composed. The composition of 101 *Viraktas* became very popular and many *viraktas* were very active in Vijayanagara to popularise the religion. Bhīmakavi, Prabhudeva, Jakkārya, Tontada Siddhalinga-Yati and others were very popular Vīraśaiva poets of the Sangama period.

Vīraśaiva Mathas in the City:

In the Vijayanagara city, there were a number of Vīraśaiva *mathas* built by the Vīraśaiva *yatis* and the followers of Vīraśaivism. Lakkanna Dāndesā, an officer of Dēvarāya II, founded a Vīraśaiva school in the city for the purpose of teaching the Vīraśaiva theology, the disciples in turn went to different parts of Karnataka for spreading Vīraśaivism.

In Vijayanagara there existed ten *mathas* belonging to Virasaivism as supported by monuments in the city. All these *mathas* were located in the *rathabidi* of Virupāksha. They were:

- 1) Kasikarisiddēśvara-maṭha
- 2) Mavinatōpina Sāviradēvara-maṭha
- 3) Kotturaśvami-maṭha
- 4) Bhusanuru-maṭha
- 5) Kallu-maṭha
- 6) Hanuvala-maṭha
- 7) Nilammana-maṭha
- 8) Hūli-maṭha
- 9) Mahantina-matha and 10) Nirāsi-maṭha.

Besides these, another *Hiriya-chhatra* or *Hiriya matha* was there at Krishnapura called also as *Virupākshapanditas Hiriya-matha* noticed in an epigraph.¹

Vīraśaivism gained prominent position by the Vijayanagara kings especially Sangamas. The kings organised systematic efforts to collect many literary works of Vīraśaivism like *Basava-purāna*, *Revana-Śiddheśhvarakāvya*, *Nūrondu-sthala*, *Purātanara-Tripadi*, *Tribhuvana-tilaka* etc. Vīraśaivism enjoyed the support of the masses as well as the higher classes of the society.

In the Vijayanagara city three Brahmanical sects could be seen, they were *Smartha*, *Srivaishṇava*, and *Madhva*. The Brahmins following *Advaita* philosophy of Sankaracharya were called *Smarthas*. Those who followed the philosophy of Rāmanujāchārya viz. *Visiṣṭādvaita* were known as *Srivaishṇavas*. The followers who accepted the *Dvaita* principles of Madhvachārya were called *Madhvās*.

The two important *Advaita mathas* at Sringeri and Kāñchi, besides a number of others propagated the doctrine of *Advaita* in southern India. Many epigraphs from A.D. 1346 onwards reveal the close links between the Vijayanagara rulers and the Sringeri-Matha. The pontiffs of the Sringeri-Matha were patronised by the Rāya's of Vijayanagara.

¹ Basavaraja Malashetty – (Ed.) Enaginta Kiriyarilla – (Kan) Koppal, 1999, p.289

Some structures in the City bear evidence to the prevalence of the *Smārtha* traditions. A *Smārtha* Brahmanical *Matha* is located on the northern side of the *prākara* wall of the Virupaksha temple. The outer-wall abuts the *prākara* wall. The *matha* is known as Sri Śāṅkara Bhārati *Matha*.

Another *Smārtha Matha* is the *Chintāmaṇi Matha* in Ānegondi. It is believed that *matha* was established in the early 14th century A.D. and it continued to be in existence not only during the Vijayanagara period but also in Post-Vijayanagara times.¹

Vidyātīrtha was a prominent teacher of *Advaita Vedānta* who was held in great reverence by the Sangama rulers. He was both the temporal and spiritual guide to Bukkarāya-I. He was succeeded to the throne with the blessings of Vidyatīrtha.² A copper plate grant of Harihara-II describes Bukkarāya as the worshipper at the lotus feet of Guru Vidyāthīrtēsha.³ The other *advaita* teacher and architect of Vijayanagara empire was the distinguished Vidyaranya. He made notable contributions through his works like *Jeevanmuktiviveka* and *Panchadashi*, notable works on the philosophy of *Advaita*. The records refer to the fact that *Advaita* teachers of Sringeri-*Matha* and the Kānchi-*Matha* were great celebrities, well versed in Sanskrit

¹ Vishnu Thirtha P. – A Concise History of Srimad Jagadguru Kudali Sringeri Sharada Mahapeetha, p.159

² E.C. Vol.IV, Pt.II, Yd.46

³ MAR – 1908, p.14

and vernaculars. Therefore, the Sangama brothers were moved to visit Sringeri-Matha to celebrate the festival in commemoration of their victory.

Many notable persons belonging to the *Smārtha* sect played an important role in the history of Vijayanagara particularly in the initial days of its foundation. Madhavacharya was a conspicuous figure at Vijayanagara Court. He had an intimate relationship with royal house of Sangamas and was greatly honoured at the court. Sayanacharya, the younger brother of Madhavacharya, served as minister to Kāmparaya-I and Harihara-II. He was a prolific writer and credited with 113 works.¹ Bhogañatha, another brother of Madhavacharya was also a great scholar of the Sangama period. Thus, this family played an important role in political and cultural history of the city.

Vaishnavism:

This was a very popular religion in the Vijayanagara City, and especially during the time of Tuluva rulers, this was vigorously practised. The Sravanabelgola inscription dated A.D. 1368 refers to the dispute between Srivaishṇavas and Jainas regarding religious matters.² This presupposes the prevalence and practice of Vaishṇavism during the Vijayanagara period.

¹ Ramasharma M.H. – History of Vijayanagar, p.32

² E.C. Vol.II, Sr.344

The most active form of Hindu religion during the 16th century was Vaishnavism. The accession of Sāluva Narasimha the Vijayanagara throne gave impetus to the expansion of Vaishnavism over the whole of South India. Sāluva Narasimha was greatly devoted to god Venkatesvara of Tirupati, which became the most important centre of Vaishnavism in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The Vaishnavas of this period fall into two categories, *Sri Vaishnavas* who were the followers of Rāmānujāchārya and the *Madhvas* or the followers of Madhvacharya.

The king Sāluva Narasimha was a great scholar and he wrote *Rāmābhūdayam* in Sanskrit and encouraged Vaishnavism. He invited Vēdanta Dēsika, a very eminent and profound Śrivaishnava scholar, to participate in the assembly of scholars. Sri Vēdanta Dēsika composed two works, *Hamsasandēśā* and *Yādavābhūdaya* and made scholars to accept these as an exposition of the Śrivaishnava point of view on the Vedanta. On some other occasion there was a dispute between Vidyāranya and Akshobhya-muni, the latter being an exponent of *Madhva sampradāya* and to settle the dispute, it appears that Vēdanta Dēsika was appointed and in the discussion that followed, Sri Vēdanta Dēsika upheld the point of view propounded by Sri Akshobhya-yati in his work *Madhva tatvasara*. It shows the existence of two prominent Vaishnava sects viz., Śrivaishnavism and

Madhva sect. What is more important is the visit of Sri Vyāsarāya of Muļabāgilu *Matha* to the court of Krishnadevaraya. The two great exponents of the *Dvaita Siddhānta* viz., Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa stayed for some time in the City.¹

In Vijayanagara City, current were many legends regarding Vali, Sugriva, Jambuvāntha, Hanumāntha etc. To the west of Ānegondi, there is a place referred to as 'Vali Bhandāra'. It is believed that the spot was the treasury of Vali. To the west again are the spots described as Pampasarōvara, Anjanādri hill and *sabariguhe*. On the top of Anjanādri is a temple named Anjanadevi which belongs to the Vijayanagara period.

Śrivaishnavism:

During Śāluva and Tuļuva periods, Sri Vaishnavism gained ground in Vijayanagara and a number of Sri Vaishnava gurus became influential at the royal court. This was prevalent even in the Sangama period. The *Prapannāmrītam*, a Śrivaishnava work of Anantāchārya, states that the last king of the Sangama family, viz., Virupāksha II, a Vīrasaiva by religion embraced Śrivaishnavism.² According to this work, Ettur Singarāchārya or Narasimha-guru, with his brother Srirangāchārya started from Ettur towards the capital of Vijayanagara to seek livelihood. Virupāksha was then the king

¹ Verghese Anila – Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara, p.114

² Ayyangar S.K. (Ed) – Sources of Vijayanagar History, Delhi, 1986, pp.71-79

in Vijayanagara. The king Virupāksha felt great reverence for the *Rāmāyana* the god Rama and the preceptor Narasimhacharya. He embraced Śrivaishnavism and the *Rāmāyana* was read to the king at his instance. The people who listened to the *Rāmāyana* were so much influenced by the subline sentiments of the *Mahakāvya* that they became followers of Narasimhacharya and embraced Śrivaishnavism. By the impact of this, king Virupāksha changed the sign manual and his official orders from ‘Sri Virupāksha’ to ‘Sri Rāma’. This was an important stage in the religious history of Vijayanagara and the practice of Śrivaishnavism.

The *Prapannāmritam* was essentially a Vaishnava work and pronounced to glorify the cause of Vaishnavism. The accession of Saluva Narasimha to the Vijayanagara throne in A.D. 1492 marked the triumph of Vaishnavism and its emergence as the religion of the royal house.¹ And Saluva Narasimha was considered to be an incarnation of Lord Narasimha of Ahobalam and Venkatesvara of Tirupati. The Jaimini Bhāratamu gives vivid account of his personal religion. Immadi Narasimha also followed in the footsteps of his father Saluva Narasimha.²

The loyalty of Krishnadevaraya to *Vaishnava darshana* is reflected not only in the literature of the period, but also in his daily life and activities.

¹ T.T.D.I. Vol.II, Nos.18, 19, 23, 41, 42 & 76

² E.I. XIV, p.19; MER – 1911, No.259

The Vaishnava ācharya, Tatachārya, was patronised by him. He was Krishnadevarāya's spiritual guru and adviser and so he was granted the village of Palur as an *Agrahara (Sarvamānya Agrahara)*¹. Krishnadevarāya also made a number of gifts to Venkatesvara of Tirupati.²

The *Āmuktamālyada*, was an excellent work composed under the influence of Śrivaishṇavism on the royal family and ascribed to Krishnadevarāya. The main theme of this work is Śri Andal, a great Śrivaishṇava devotee, and the daughter of Periyalvar, one of the twelve *Alvars* or Vaishnava saints. It narrates poetically the *Vishnubhakti* of Śri Andal and eventually her marriage with the god. By the way it also speaks of genealogy i.e. the lunar origin of the kings. The work displays king's deep inclination towards Śrivaishnavism. Obviously it had its own impact on the officers and also the people who in order to please their master, displayed great interest in the sects associated with *Vedanta* philosophy, viz, the *Advaita*, the *Vishistādvaita* and the *Dvaita*.

The service rendered by king Krishnadevaraya to the cause of Vaishnavism, particularly *Visistādvaita* with a sense of supreme devotion and dedication is a significant fact of religious thought in the Vijayanagara period. Further, he was not merely a worshipper of Vishnu, but a worshipper

¹ MAR – 1918, p.110

² MER – 1929-30, Nos.168, 84

of the devotees of Vishnu as well. He enumerated the twelve *Alvars* whom he compared to the twelve *Adityas* themselves, i.e. to the sons of Vishnu.¹

An important development in the field of this sect was the worship of the *Alvars*, the devotees of Vishnu, especially in the Tuluva period. Temples were built for the *Alvars* other than Vishnu temples.

Achyūtaraya was ardent follower of Vaishnavism. He crowned himself king at Tirumala where he was bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of god Venkatesvara in A.D. 1529 and he celebrated his first coronation ceremony at Tirumalai.² He made grants to god Venkatesvara of Tirupati every time he visited the shrine.³ The record dated A.D. 1535 refers to Achyūtadevaraya instituting new festivals like, Laxmidevi Mahotsavam and the Punarvasu Tirunal.⁴

Vaishnavism gained a stronger hold during the latter half of the 16th century, commencing with the reign of Sadasivaraya. Sadasivaraya, the nominal king, and Aliya Rāmaraya, the de-facto ruler, were both ardent followers of Vaishnavism. The copper plates of the British Museum describe Sadasivaraya as *Haribhakti Sudhanidhi*. An inscription dated A.D. 1545 inform us of Rāmaraya that he granted Puduppattu for the purpose of conducting *Mukoti dvādasi* festival, daily worship and other services at

¹ Konduri Sarojini. – Religion in Vijayanagara Empire, p.91

² T.T.D.I. – IV, No.16

³ Sastri KAN and Venkataramanayya V. – Further Sources, Vol.I, p.236

⁴ T.T.D.I. – IV, Nos.54, 58

Tirupati and Tirumalai temples for the accrual of merit to the king Sadāśivaraya.¹ Then the Aravidu rulers were the followers of Vaishṇavism and there are several grants made to Vaishṇava temples.²

Many Śrivaishnava ascetics played a prominent role in spreading Śrivaishnava principles in the city and it's environs. A Śrivaishnava ascetic named Govindaraja is referred in an inscription as the *guru* of Krishnadēvaraya.³ The emperor Krishnadēvaraya also bestowed great honours on Venkata Tātacharya, a great ascetic of the times.⁴ The most influential Śrivaishnava gurus in Vijayanagara during Sadāsivaraya's reign were Tirumala-Āuku-Tiruvengalacharya and Kandala Srirangacharya. The former was the *guru* of Ramaraya. He was also known as Śrisailapūrṇa Tātāchārya.⁵ He granted a village to the Vitthala temple in A.D.1543.⁶ He was also the *guru* of the powerful Aravidu chief Aubhala Rāju.⁷ According to an inscription found in the Vitthala temple the younger brothers of Aubhala Rāju, Kondaraja and Udayagiri Timmaraja were the disciples of Kandala Śrirangacharya. However, these Śrivaishnava gurus do not appear to have resided permanently in the City. The presence of Rāmānuja Kutas in some of the Śrivaishnava temples in the City indicates that Śri Vaishṇava

¹ E.I., IV, p.15

² E.I. IV, p.21; T.T.D.I. V, No.68

³ E.C. XIV, Md.115

⁴ MAR of 1918, p.52

⁵ E.I. XXIX, pp.71-78

⁶ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.607

⁷ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.280

ascetics from elsewhere also visited the City and there was a great influence of this religion in the City. Thus, the Vaishṇavism and Srivaishṇavism extended their guidance to the Vijayanagara rulers.

Madhva Sect:

The Madhva sect was originated by Sri Madhvachārya in the 13th century he had four disciples. They were Padmanābha Tīrtha , Narahari Tīrtha , Madhva Tīrtha and Akshobhya Tīrtha.

Padmanābha Tīrtha was the first disciple, and he became the head of the Padaraya-matha. One of the distinguished heads of the *matha* was Sripāda Rāya.¹ After him Narahari Tīrtha became head. Both of them must have helped the founders of the Vijayanagara empire. Madhva Tīrtha was a great scholar, who presided over the Uttaradhi-Matha established by Madhvachārya. He was succeeded by Akshobhya Tīrtha, who was a contemporary of Vidyaranya. He had two disciples, Jaya Tīrtha and Rajendra Tīrtha, both of them were popular logicians.

These four *Yatis* had their *Mathas* in Mulabagilu, Simhachala, Majgehalli and Kodāli respectively. The Mula Matha of Madhvacharya called under the name Uttaradhi Matha is still continuing under the same name. Madhva Tīrtha's Brindāvana was in Ānegondi, later on it was shifted to Agharkhed, near Gulbarga. During the Vijayanagara period there were

¹ Mahalingam T.V. Administration and Social Life – II, p.200

three important lines of Madhva ascetics. Some of the spiritual heads of these *mathas* lived and died in the capital, the most famous of them was Vyāsarāya. He resided in Vijayanagara city. He was a contemporary of Śāluva Narasimha and the Tuluva rulers down to Achyūtadevārāya. He was a guardian saint of the empire. Vijayanagara City was his main base from about A.D.1499 till his death in A.D.1539.¹ There are numerous inscriptions from different parts of the empire that attest to Krishnadēvarāya's special devotion to this guru. His stay in the City borne out by his brindavana at Anegondi and two of his epigraphs in the Vitthala temple. During the reign of Krishnadēvarāya, an interesting incident occurred, which speaks of the greatness of Vyāsarāya. According to the astrological belief every individual in his life time is supposed to have certain *yoga*, auspicious or inauspicious period, for a certain period. Krishnadēvarāya was to pass through a particular *yoga* known as *Kuhayoga*, which was very inauspicious. It was at this time that Vyāsarāya came to the rescue of the king and is said to have warded off the evil effects of the *yoga* by his spiritual power by sitting on the throne during the period of that *yoga*. Krishnadēvarāya therefore felt so greatful to the *yati*, that he received him in the court and honoured him by performing *Kanakabhisheka*, this episode is mentioned in the work *Vyāsa Vijayam*. It gives valuable information about the position of the *Madhva sampradāya* in the city.

¹ B. Venkoba Rao – Iontroduction Sri Vyayogicharitam, P.XIII and P.CXViii

Vijayindra Tīrtha was another great Madhva teacher and contemporary of the great Appayya Dixita. He is said to have composed many works and he spent his early life in Vijayanagara City. Raghavendra Tīrtha was a great *Pandita* and the disciple of Sudhindra Tīrtha lived for sometime in the city.

Among the Madhava ascetics a special place of honour belongs to the *bhakti* poet-saints known as the *Haridāsas*. These *Haridāsas* lived in the City. The first of the *Haridāsas* was Narahari Tīrtha, who lived and died in the city. The next important saint was Sripādarāya, who was followed by Vyāsarāya. Vysaraya greatly popularised the *Haridāsa* movement. Some of the greatest of these *Haridāsas* were Purandaradāsa, Kanakadāsa and Vadiraja who were the disciples of Vyāsarāya. All these saints played a great role in spreading the principles of Madhva sect in the City.¹

Jainism:

Jainism received full royal support from the earlier rulers of ancient Karnataka, from the days of Kadambas up to the period of Hoysalas. At that time a number of Jain *basadis* and *chaityas* were established in different parts of the state. In the same way, the Vijayanagara rulers continued the royal patronage and played an important role in its spread. The Rāyas made liberal grants and donations to the Jaina temples. A number of epigraphs

¹ MAR of 1941, pp.189-190

give information about the development of Jainism in the Vijayanagara City. The Jains without discrimination served in the army, in the ministry, in the field of literature and education. They were also engaged in trade and commerce. The Jain officers, merchants and rich people made liberal donations to the *basadis* and *chaityas*. In the Vijayanagara City *Ganagitti Jinālaya*, *Parśvanātha Basadi*, Jaina temple near the Royal Centre, Jaina temple near *Sōmavarada Bāgilu*, another *Basadi* behind the Elephant Stables, yet another *Basadi* on the way to *Vitthalāpura* and at *Anegondi*, and another *basadi* near *Kaddirāmpura* were the important Jaina centres. So, the existence of all these *basadis* shows that Jainism received great support and liberal patronage from the rulers of Vijayanagara.

The *Ganagitti Jinālaya* was built by Irugappa Dāṇḍanāyaka, the minister of Bukka II in A.D. 1385.¹ He also built one more *Jinalaya* at *Anegondi*.² The magnificent temple of *Parśvanātha* was built in the *Pansupari Bazaar*, near the Royal Centre by Devaraya II in A.D. 1426.³ Basava Dandanayaka constructed *Mantapa Tōrana* to Ādinatha and *Parśvanātha Basadi* at *Hampi*.⁴ Krishṇadevarāya and his successors also patronised Jainism.⁵ During this period the great Jain teachers who received

¹ S.I.I. – Vol.I, No.152

² ARIE of 1958-59, No.678

³ S.I.I. – Vol.I, No.82; No.153

⁴ ARIE, 1975-76, No.106

⁵ ARIE – 1928-29, No.126

patronage from rulers were Visālakīrti and Vādividyānanda.¹ The Haṁpi inscription dated A.D. 1396 located on the pedestal of the missing stone image kept at Kamalāpura archaeological museum registers two Jaina *acharyas* or monks Dharmabhūshana Bhātāchārya of *Mula sangha* *Balatkāragana* and *Sarasvati gachha*.² Another epigraph found at Ganagitti Jaina basadi gives names of some other Jain monks like Padmanandi, Amarakirti, Simhananda, Vardhamana.³ Festivals like Javadashtami, Mrutapāñchani, Sōdasha-Bhāvane Pūje, Sravana were celebrated.⁴ The *Mahāmandaleśvara* Śri Rangaraja Rāmarājayya made a grant to Śantinatha tīrthankara.⁵

Thus, the above noted facts reveal the patronage received by Jains at the Vijayanagara City. The people of the majority community like Śaivas and Vaishṇavas extended their co-operation and maintained communal harmony.

Islam:

With the devastating military campaigns led by Mallik-Kafur, Commander-in-Chief of Allauddin Khilji in the latter part of the 13th century, the Islam made its entry into South India. The conflict between the

¹ E.C. Vol.VIII, Nr.46

² Talwar H.T. – Op.Cit, p.23

³ K.U.E.S. – III, No.350

⁴ Talwar H.T. Jaina Art and Architecture at Vijayanagara (Hampi) D.A.M. Mysore, 1997, p.24

⁵ ARSIE, 1889, No.119

Rayas of Vijayanagara and the Muslim kingdoms was more political than religious. Within their area they tolerated Islam, employed Muslims in their services and supported them in several ways. From the early days of the empire, Muslim traders and ambassadors visited the capital and from the fifteenth century onwards there was a large group of Muslims settled in the capital. Among these several were in the army, particularly in the cavalry section and possibly many Muslim artisans were employed, as it is indicated in some buildings of the city.

From about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. till the close of the fifteenth century, the horse trade was the virtual monopoly of the Arab merchants.¹ The Vijayanagara rulers greatly depended on them for horses for the royal army. The presence of these Arab horse traders in the City is supported and attested by sculptural representations on the outer side of the *prākara* wall of the early fifteenth century Hazāra Rāma temple. There are five panels of reliefs depicting Arab horse traders. The figures are characterised by their long robes, beards and headress. In some panels they are shown presenting horses before a seated royal figure. Such foreign-looking men can be seen even on some of the reliefs of phase one and two of the *Mahānavamidibba*. From the early days of Vijayanagara empire Muslims visited the Capital City. But there was a little impact of Islam on

¹ Shukla S.K. – Horse Trade in Medieval South : Its Political and Economic Implications in 42nd PIHC, p.311

the religious life of the City till the fifteenth century when Muslims began to be employed in the royal army in large numbers.

Sangama ruler, Devaraya II being tolerant, employed a number of Muslim archers in the royal army and encouraged them to settle in the Capital City and its neighbourhood. This kind of employment opportunity to the Muslims by the ruler helped the growth of their settlements. Devaraya II also extended support by allotting some *Jagirs* to Muslim officers and he erected a mosque for their prayer in the Capital. He also placed *Koran* before his throne on a rich desk so that the Muslims might perform the ceremony of obeisance before him without sinning against their law.¹ Even an epigraph of A.D. 1430 states that Devaraya II had 10,000 *Turuska* horsemen in his service.² Within the City was a mosque built in A.D. 1439 by Ahmad Khan, an officer of the king Devaraya II.³ An inscription of A.D. 1440-41 mentions that one of the Muslim officers of Devaraya II by name Ahmad Khan, for the merit of his king built a *dharmasala* and a well in the City.⁴ In this way Devaraya II showed religious toleration towards Muslims.

Even Paes who visited the capital during the time of Krishnadevaraya, during A.D. 1520-22 writes about the existence of Muslim quarters situated at the end of the City and they were many in number.⁵

¹ Scott, Ferishta, Vol.I, p.118; Sewell Robert, Op.Cit., p.72

² E.C. III, Sr.No.115

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.447

⁴ HISI – P.214; 18 of 1904; V.R. Vol.I, Bellary, No.356

⁵ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.256

There was a cordial relationship between the Hindus and Muslims. As it is supported by an epigraph of A.D. 1537, speaks of the construction of a mosque by a pious Hindu for the sake of the Muslims.¹ The same policy of toleration was continued in the times of Sadashivraya and Rāmarāya. And also a large number of Muslims were appointed to the posts of importance in the empire. Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani was an important officer under the service of Rāmarāya and at his request Rāmarāya made the grant of the village of Bēvanahalli to some Brahmins.² There were other high ranking Muslims under Rāmarāya like Dilavar Khan,³ Ambur Khan, an Abyssinian,⁴ Noor Khan and Bijly Khan.⁵ Though there were frequent battles between Vijayanagara and Muslim Sultans, there was religious harmony at the capital. The rulers of Vijayanagara had respect for all men and their faiths.

Thus, the records make it clear that from the early 15th century onwards the Muslim community formed an important segment of the population of Vijayanagara City. At the east end of the north ridge and extending across the base of the Malyavanta Hill were the main Muslim quarters in the city. This is indicated by the ruins of mosques, tombs, and graveyard. The contemporary writings also confirm the presence of such Muslim quarters in the City. One of the Muslim writers Shirazi refers to the

¹ E.C. IV, Kr. No.95

² E.I. XIV, p.210

³ MAR of 1941, No.16; EC X, KI.147

⁴ Briggs. J. – History of the Rise of Mohammedan Power in India till A.D. 1612, Vol.III, p.197

⁵ Ibid., p.238

‘*Turkavāda*’, where the Muslim community resided had a mosque and carried out their religious activities.¹ A number of 16th century epigraphs also refer to a certain ‘village down below the tombs’ i.e. Gori-Kelagana-grama.² This must have been the area inhabited mostly by Muslims.³ Even now the number of Muslim monuments in this area show that a large Muslim population resided there.

The two tombs situated on the outskirts of the village Kaddirampura, a village now but which they formed part of the urban core of Vijayanagara indicate that Muslim community lived there. We have three epigraphical references to the tombs⁴ and their construction. An inscription refers to the construction of a tomb by Sakalajarāvuta for the merit of Chikarāya.⁵ Another inscription dated A.D. 1420 states that Hindus by name Basava and Rāmanāyaka constructed a masjid, a tomb and a compound wall for the merit of Miyarāvuta.⁶

The role of Islam and of Muslims in the City and its environs during the Vijayanagara period was remarkable and marked by harmony. This development is striking and noteworthy because the Vijayanagara empire was founded with the main object of protecting Hinduism and its culture

¹ Nilakanta Sastri K.A. and Venkataramanayya N. – Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Vol.I, p.267

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, Nos. 272, 273, 278, 279 etc.

³ Verghese Anila – Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara, p.126

⁴ Devaraj D.V. and Patil C.S., V.P.R –1984-87, Nos.118, 119, 120.

⁵ Ibid. No.119; KUES – III, No.314

⁶ KUES – III, No.310

from the Muslim attack. Viewed against this background the above developments are remarkable which must have wiped away the scars of fear and hostility between the Hindus and Muslims and a deep impact of the Hindus' tolerant attitude towards Muslims making them venerate Hindu tradition and serve the Hindu Rayas of Vijayanagara loyally. Of course, at the battle of Rakkasa- Tangadi there was a sizeable Muslim contingent in the Vijayanagara army; the treachery of two of the Muslim generals was one of the reasons for the defeat of the Vijayanagara forces.¹ This was an unfortunate event but the important contribution of Vijayanagara is the development of genuine harmony between the Hindu and Islam communities. Thus, Hindu-Muslim unity occupied a unique place in the politico-cultural history of Vijayanagara City.

Christianity:

With the coming of Portuguese to India the Christianity began to spread in South India. During the time of Devaraya II and till about the commencement of the 16th century particularly the horse trade was largely the monopoly of Muslim merchants. But with the coming of the Portuguese traders towards the close of the fifteenth century, the monopoly of the Muslim merchants was broken. Hence, it paved way for the entrance of Portuguese merchants to the coastal port towns and gradually to the Capital

¹ Heras H. – The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Vol.I, p.211

City. The economic prosperity of Vijayanagara empire attracted these Portuguese merchants to come and settle in the capital and its environ. Paes writes that in this City one would find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade, which had many precious stones there, principally diamonds.¹ Thus, from this we can understand that there was a population of Portuguese who were Christians. They must have settled in the capital for fabulous trade. In the case of Islam we have monuments to say about their comfortable stay at the capital as seen from mosques and some Islamic structures. But we do not have any such evidence to speak about the Christian buildings at the capital. The reason for this might be their small number living in the City, and their temporary stay. The Portuguese settlement at Goa must have encouraged them to concentrate their business only in Goa and coastal area. The Christian merchants played an important role in the economy of Vijayanagara.

A number of Christians visited Vijayanagara especially in the sixteenth century A.D. as envoys, travellers, traders, soldiers and adventurers. However, on the whole they do not appear to have been a part of the resident population of the capital, nor did they engage in any public religious activities. We have no evidence of literary or archaeological or inscriptional regarding their Church, or tomb nor any symbol.

¹ Paes in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.256

Thus, in the Vijayanagara city not only Hindu religions but also other religions existed. The Vijayanagara rulers were tolerant of other faiths. The Rayas of Vijayanagara did not impose any restrictions on the non-Hindus practicing of their own religion but also there are examples of active state protection and patronage extended to them. The Vijayanagara rulers accorded liberal treatment to all foreigners and their faiths. Barbosa visited the City during the period of Krishnadevaraya and he made an observation about Krishnadevaraya that 'The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen'.¹ Great equity and justice were given to all.

Thus, the Vijayanagara emperors were a model for religious toleration.

Festivals in the City:

The Vijayanagara rulers encouraged a number of festivals and personally they involved in celebrating such festivals. Among these festivals, commonly celebrated by members of all the communities, there were some which were particularly favoured by the Saivas and some favoured by the Vaishnavas, while some festivals were connected with particular temples in various parts of the country. The Vijayanagara

¹ Duarte Barbosa – The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Trans. And Ed. – M. Longworth Dames, p.202

emperors were particularly interested in conducting religious festivals with the involvement of all subjects. They considered it their duty to have the festivals duly conducted. Inscriptions, literature and traveller's accounts provide ample evidence to the religious festivals celebrated by the members of the royal family and the people of Vijayanagara. They were celebrating various festivals in the empire and particularly in Capital City to pray God to protect the subjects from natural calamities and alien invasions.

A record dated A.D. 1521 in the Hazara Rama temple refers to the donor, Timmaraja as making arrangements for festivals such as the Rathotsava in the month of Chaitra, Rathasaptami, the Uti festival, the elephant hunt at Sankranti and the sacrificial fire in the Pushya. On these occasions the deity was to be brought to the *utsava-mantapa*; probably it was the one in the north east of the courtyard.¹ Rathasaptami was one of the meritorious festivals of the Hindus; it is celebrated on the seventh day of the bright fortnight in the month of Magha. It is said to have the Sun riding on a chariot of seven horses; and is therefore called Rathasaptami. The festival of Rathasaptami was celebrated with great religious fervour not only in the city, but all over the country. The *Śivaratri mahātyamu* informs us that, on the day of Rathasaptami a lamp-stand made of gold, silver, brass or iron should be carried by the devotees on the head to a river bank and after

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.250

worshipping the sun should be left in the river. This was immediately followed by ablutions.¹ An inscription of the Balakrishna temple dated A.D. 1532 records that Achyūtaraya made grants for two festivals, the *Uyyale-Tirunālu* (Swing Festival) and *Kode-Tirunālu* (Summer Festival).²

Another inscription dated A.D. 1534 notes the construction of the Tiruveṅgalanātha temple by Hiriyatirumalarāja and the grants he made to the temple. It also records Achyutaraya's gift of a village made for various offerings in the temple and for the Rathotsava and the Kode-Tirunālu.³

The maximum number of festivals are mentioned in the Vitthala temple inscriptions. In the record relating to Krishnadevaraya's grant of A.D. 1513, reference is made to two car festivals, one in Phalgun (February-March) and another one in Vaishakha (April-May).⁴ In an inscription A.D. 1543 the Uti festival is mentioned⁵ in A.D. 1545 a grant was made for the purpose of offerings to be made to God Vitthala on the day of Rathasaptami.⁶ Another inscription of A.D. 1554 the Aravidu chief, Udayagiri Timmaraju constructed the uyyale-mantapa in which the deity was to be placed in the swing on a number of auspicious occasions, such as Prathama-ekādasi and Dvādasi, five days of Uyyale Festival, five days of

¹ Srinatha – Sivaratrimahatmyamu – Hyderabad, 1968, Ch.IV, V.25

² S.I.I. – Vol.IV, No.262

³ Ibid. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.564

⁴ Ibid. Vol.IV, Nos.273 and 278

⁵ Ibid. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.607

⁶ Ibid. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.616

Kode Festival, ten days of *Tiruvadhyāna*, three days of the *Dhvajārohanā* of the car festival, three days of *Sripushya*, one day of *Rāmajayanti*, one day of *Vāmanajayanti*, etc.¹ His brother Konḍaraja, gave an endowment in A.D. 1561 for an additional two days to be added to the ten days of *Tiruvadhyāna* Festival instituted by Udayagiri Timmaraju.² In A.D. 1559 a rich patron, Nammaḷvar, made provision for taking the deity in procession to the Parānkusha-mantapa at the end of the Vitthala Ratha Vidi on 142 days of the year. This inscription also mentions the other three car festivals, the Pavitra Festival, ten-day of Mahānavami-Vijayadasāmi festival, Ugādi, Teppa-Tirunālu, Makara Sankranti and Toppu Tirunālu.³ An inscription of A.D. 1556 from the Tirumangai Alvar temple in Vitthalāpura reveals that the practice of celebrating the birth-star of the *Alvars* was in vogue and that on such days the *Prabhandam* was recited.⁴

Festivals were celebrated by all the communities with much fervour, devotion and gaiety in the City. Three major and national festivals celebrated in the City were Mahānavami (Dasara), the Holi and Dīpavali, while there were other minor festivals for the worship of gods. Festivals afforded the people not only to forget the hard realities of life but were celebrated in commemoration of the triumph of good over evil.

¹ Ibid. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.653

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.275

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668

⁴ Ibid., Vol.IV. No.280

One such festival was *Mahānavami* or *Navarātri* (Nine Day Festival) festival which was celebrated by Vijayanagara kings during the lunar month of asvin corresponding to mid September to mid October. This festival was first reported in the greatest South Indian kingdom of medieval times, the Vijayanagara. Mallana's *Rajasekhara Charitramu* mentions that the celebration during the nine days of the festival were in commemoration of Devi's different victories over the evil forces affecting mankind.¹ One view is that this festival strengthened the idea of kingship as a sacred institution.² The festival consisted of nine days of celebration followed by the tenth and final day, *Vijayadasāmi*. There is an epigraphical mention of *Mahānavami-Vijayadasāmi* festival in Vitthala temple.³ One of the earliest eyewitnesses of this festival was an Italian by name Nicolo-Conti, who visited the City and the kingdom in A.D. 1420. Even Paes and Nuniz give similar glorious descriptions of the *Mahānavami* festival in their accounts.⁴

The most dazzling festival in the capital was *Mahānavami*. Though religious in form, it was essentially political in its significance.⁵ Abdur Razzak, a contemporary visitor to Devaraya II's court considers the *Mahānavami* celebration as stately and magnificent. All the nobles of the

¹ Mallana – Rajasekhara Charitamu, Hyderabad, 1967, Ch.II, Canto.89

² Burtonstein – Mahanavami : Medieval and Modern Kingly Ritual in South India, All the Kings Mana, New Era Publications, Madras, 1984, p.311

³ S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668

⁴ Paes and Nuniz in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit., pp.263-279 and pp.376-389

⁵ Saletore B.A. – Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol.II, p.372

empire assembled for this feast with their retinue, elephants and horses. Enchanting pavilion containing two to five stages were constructed. Some of these pavilions were so constructed that they revolved, every moment offered a different face to the viewer. In front of the plain was constructed a pillared edifice of nine storeys ornamented with excelling beauty. The throne of the king was placed on the ninth storey. Between this palace and the pavilion there was an open space beautifully laid out in which singers and story tellers exercised their respective arts.¹ There were also jugglers and wrestlers who performed their feats before the king. The king worshipped the god both in the morning and evening, while buffaloes and sheeps were sacrificed to the god. There were dancing women who danced and also wrestled before the king.² The festival of Mahānavami took place for nine days with all pomp and glory. The king fasted all these nine days, and he ate nothing until the festival ended, and his hour of food was midnight.³ During the nine festive days “Fire works, games and amusements went on”.⁴

Dīpāvalī or the Festival of Lights also attracted the attention of the people and visitors to Vijayanagara as well. The festival was held in the month of *Kartika*. During the festival, according to Nicolo-Conti, “They fix

¹ Abdur Razzak in Eliot H.M and Dowson – Op.Cit., Vol.IV, pp.117-118

² Saletore B.A. – Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.379

³ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit., p.274

⁴ Ibid. p.94

up within their temples and on the outside of the roofs, in numerable number of lamps of oil susimanni, which are kept burning day and night".¹

Holi, was a grand and colourful festival celebrated in Vijayanagara with great religious fervour. Nicolo Conti, who visited the Vijayanagara City, gives details about the celebration of Holi: "There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water, placed for that purpose by the way side. This is received by all with much laughter".² Another traveller Pietrodella-Valle also mentioned the celebration of the Holi festival.³

Nandi Timmana's *Parijātapaharanamu*, Krishnadevaraya's *Jambuvati Kalyanam*, Śrinatha's *Harivilāsamu* also give vivid accounts of the Holi festival.⁴ The Mahānavami Platform had panel reliefs include several figures, one among these depict women applying each other coloured water. The outer wall of the Hazāra Rāma temple also depicts women diluting colour with water and sprinkling each other with it joyfully.

Car festivals of temples were common. Temple elephants, musicians, trumpeters and dancers went along with the procession of the car in which the idol was placed, it was known as *Utsava-mūrthi*. The stone car in front of the Vitthala temple at Hampi was an evidence to the celebration of car

¹ Ibid. p.85

² Major R.H. – India in the 15th Century, London, 1858, pp.28-29

³ Pietrodellavelle – The Travels (Ed.) E. Grey, London, 1892, Vol.I, pp.122-123

⁴ Aiyyangar S.K. – Sources of Vijayanagara History, Delhi, 1986, pp.138-40, 142, 57-59

festival. Inscriptions and foreign accounts give ample evidence to the celebration in the City. Poet Ahobla in his work *Virupāksha Vasantotsava*, describes the car festival of God Sri Virupaksha of Hampi. Even the foreign accounts of Conti, and Razzak tell about the celebration of the car festival in the City.

Karahabba was celebrated on the full moon day of Jyeshtha month, it was the festival day called *karaparva* or festival on bullocks race. The *Amalabasava Charite*, a Kannada work by Singiraja (in A.D.1500), describes the celebration of this festival. He writes, “on that day youthfull bullocks were set out in a race. For that occasion, the whole city had decorated all over with fastoons and banners”.

Various new processions of deities were instituted in the empire, they being associated with the endowments of new rulers. Gods and goddesses were taken in procession through the streets. One of the paintings in the Virupāksha temple depicts the scene of a sage being taken in procession.

Beside state support, temples also enjoyed liberal patronage from private donors, such as rich individuals, sectarian leaders, professional guilds. Thus, royalty and the people of Vijayanagara made liberal endowments to institute such festivals and rituals. The observance of festivals and rituals in temples, the exuberant celebration by the public and lively accompaniment of dance and music that added colour were integral

aspects of life in the city. These demonstrate the vigour and vitality of religious life in the Vijayanagara City.

CHAPTER VIII

TEMPLES IN THE CITY

Vijayanagara is a city of temples. There is a close relationship between religion and life of the people. The hectic temple building activity began during Vijayanagara times, the rulers of Vijayanagara were dedicated to the promotion of religion and religious institutions. The building of temples was mainly undertaken by kings, members of the royal family, feudatories, feudal lords, military chiefs, rich merchants and wealthy people etc., during the Vijayanagara period. The temple building activity was regarded as one of the great 'seven meritorious deeds'. The special worships and different festivals in temples were celebrated as religious practices in the society. Its impact on social, religious, economic and cultural life was significant. The temple became the centre for architects, sculptors, painters, smiths and carpenters, where they could exhibit their skill and also earn their bread. Temple was the place where singing, dance, drama and music were performed. The temple also served as a bank, an educational centre, a place of justice and provided place for important meetings. Temples provided boarding and lodging facilities to the ascetics, Brahmins, students, guests and pilgrims. As a result temple developed into a large socio-religious economic and cultural institution.

Temples as centres of religious and cultural integration attracted a massive inflow of different pilgrims and devotees from all over the empire and country, thereby promoting inter and intra-regional mobility, closer contacts and mutual understanding among the communities. Their glorious architectural and sculptural excellence also attracted the visitors from far and near. Hence, temples were multi-facted multi-dimensional institutions, which fostered unity among people.

The Vijayanagara rulers took interest in constructing huge temples in their empire and the Capital City. From the Tamil Country they brought sculptors, architects, artisans and experts to their empire for building temples. So, especially at Hampi the temples like Virupāksha, Bālakrishna, Viṭṭhala, Hazāra Rāma, Achyūta and Pāṭṭabhi Rāma are big in their size and dimensions. The vastness of the temple area helped them to build sub-temples within the complex. Religious custom also favoured construction of temples. Realising the religious importance kings, merchants, wealthy people and guilds made liberal donations and gifts to temples. Especially Kings at the time of some special occasions like, coronation, victory in battles, made grants to the existing temples and also sometimes constructed new ones. For example, Krishnadevaraya made several grants to Virupāksha temple at the time of his coronation, and he also built a new *gopura* and beautified the temple by building a *mantapa* and repaired the old

gopura. To commemorate his victory over Orissa he constructed the Bālakrishna temple and installed the idol of Bālakrishna which he had brought as a war trophy from Udayagiri.¹ During the Vijayanagara period, a number of religious activities, ceremonies and festivals were celebrated by the people within the temple complex. Saivism and Vaishnavism were dominant religions in the Vijayanagara empire. Both the Śiva and Vishnu were worshipped in different forms such as Virupāksha, Mallikārjuna, Pampāpathi, Nāgeśvara while god Vishnu was worshipped in the forms of Viṭṭhala, Krishna, Narasimha, Venkatesvara, Tiruvengalanātha, Ananthasayana etc. As such the rulers of Vijayanagara constructed temples for all these gods. This type of religious sentiment made the rulers to accommodate small shrines around the main *garbhagriha* in the temple premises. This type of construction of small shrines can be seen in the temples of Virupāksha, Hazāra Rāma, Viṭṭhala and others. So, this style of temple construction activity attracted both workers and devotees on a large scale. The artistic excellence attracted the people of other faiths also to visit temples and perform religious ceremonies. The temple was the focal point for all these activities.

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.254

Temple as a Religious Centre:

Temples built by the Vijayanagara rulers were dedicated to different cults like Saiva, Vaishnava, Jaina and Islam. This exhibits their religious catholicity and it is greatly enabled them to maintain peace and tranquility in the City and empire as a whole. The religious rituals i.e., festivals, ceremonies, worship were conducted regularly in the Vijayanagara temples. People of different communities irrespective of their faith participated wholeheartedly in the religious activities. As a result of this festivals like *Mahānavami*, *Dipāvali*, *Vasantamahotsava*, *Holi*, Swing Festival, Car Festival were celebrated with religious pomp and gaiety.

The great temples in the Capital Vijayanagara were Virupaksha, Balakrishna, Tiruvengalanātha, Viṭṭhala, Raghunātha, Hazāra Rāma and Pattabhi Rāma. These sixteenth century temples celebrated *Mahānavami* festival i.e., annual ten days festival, during the month of September and October.¹ This festival *Dāsara* also called *Navarātri*. The Portuguese travellers Paes and Nuniz gave a detailed description of the *Mahānavami* festival celebrated in the Capital with pomp and grandeur.

The festival celebrations were from the Throne Platform i.e., *Mahānavami dibba*. During the celebrations for nine days athletic contests; dancing and singing processions by the artists, and temple damsels; were

¹ Stein Burton – The New Cambridge History of India; Vijayanagara, p.32

arranged. This was a grand and elaborate festival with the king presiding over the celebrations.

In temples worship of deities was arranged by appointing Brahmins as priests. They performed *pujas* like *nitya*, *naimitya*, and *kāmya*. In performing *pujas* they were assisted by people of different communities and different professions. The Vijayanagara kings made endowments to temples encourage to religious activity and ensure the prosperity of the land. Krishnadevarāya after constructing the Bālakrishna temple made liberal donations and lands to the Brahmins of Nelalahunise agraahara.¹ To guide the people in performing religious activities astrologers, reciters of *purāṇas*, time keepers, *mantrapushpa* reciters, and scholars used to stay in temple complexes. Kings made grants to the priests engaged in the conduct of such activities of the temple. There were persons employed to supply flowers and garlands to the temple throughout the year. Drum beaters were there, especially from the lower community, who assisted at the time of *puja* ceremonies. For these people king made donations.

Thus, all these people like Brahmins, farmers, merchants community and people etc., participated in maintaining and developing rituals in the temple. This generally gave scope for the development of communal harmony, peace and tranquility in the society. In the Vijayanagara City,

¹ K.U.E.Series : III, No.74

religious ceremonies were widely practised in all the temples. The temples developed religious sentiments among the people.

Temple Administration:

A number of Vijayanagara inscriptions speak about the temple income, expenditure and other things and also their role in society. Temples, irrespective of the status and position of the builders like kings, chieftains, merchant guilds, or wealthy individuals, were treated as the community property and looked upon as one of the ‘*Sapta-Santānamūla*’¹, by the people in ancient and medieval times. The temple was a highly organised institution and received several of gifts to arrange for the performance of the regular services and different functions there. The administration of the temple was very efficient. In the temple there were many functionaries. Their number varied from temple to temple depending upon the size and necessity of the temple. In big temples there were administrative officials, ritual specialists and others to perform some additional and menial duties.

Inscriptions mention the appointment of the *Sthanika* or *Sthanapati* as the manager or trustee of the temple. There are references in epigraphs to such an officer from the Vitthala complex², the Hazāra Rāma temple³ and

¹ H.A.S. No.13, Ins.No.56

² S.I.I., IX, Pt.II, No.607

³ S.I.I., IV, No.250

the Raghunātha temple near the Penugonda gate¹, in the suburb of Kamalāpura. Emperor Krishnadevarāya appointed two *sthanikas* in the Bālakrishna temple². Some inscriptions recording the grants made to the Virūpāksha temple mention the *Sthanika* or *Sthanikas*³, and the *Sthanādhipati*.⁴ It clearly shows that there were more than one trustee in the Virupāksha temple and the *Sthanādhipati* must have been the Head of the Board of Trustees. From these three records of grants to the Virupāksha temple, it is clear that the *Sthanikas* administered this big temple and also they managed the lands and property of the temple and received grants and gifts made to god Virupāksha, the main deity of the City. Except *Sthanika*, no other officer or ritualist of the Virupāksha or of any other Saiva temple in the City is referred in inscriptions. Whereas some records from the Vaishnava temples refers to the *Senabōva* or the Accounts Officer.⁵ An epigraph from the Hazāra Rāma temple refers the existence the post of *Karanika*,⁶ or accountant. Nature of the duty of these two officers is given, but the differences between the duties of these two is not mentioned clearly. Sometimes large temples like: Vitthala had a treasury or *bhandāra* which was kept under the direct supervision of the official called *bhandāri*.⁷ Thus,

¹ Ibid., No.245

² Ibid., No.255

³ ARIE of 1975-76, No.108; ARSIE of 1977-78, No.89.

⁴ E.C., XI, Cl.54

⁵ S.I.I. IV., Nos.245, 250 and 255; S.I.I. IX, Pt.II, Nos. 564 and 607

⁶ S.I.I., IV, No.250

⁷ S.I.I. IX, Pt.II, No.607

in the temples of the Vijayanagara City some officers were appointed for conducting festivals and monitoring the offerings to the temple gods.

Temple as a Centre of Employment:

The size, number and richness of the temples in the City speak of their importance and the role they played in every sphere of human life. The different activities of these temples covered all spheres of life of man in society. The temple required a number of people to attend to its numerous activities worship, meditation, education, banking, commerce, agriculture, performing arts etc. The employees of the temple, irrespective of caste or creed of different categories were generally referred to as '*Pada-mūla-parivāra*'.¹

The temple was a major centre of employment for the people, next only to the state. However, the number of employees in a temple depended upon its size and resources. A large number of servants were maintained by the temples for various purposes. Some of the important staff of the temple like priests, reciters of *mantras* and sacred texts, decorators, players on musical instruments, cleaners, *chouri* bearers, etc., were in charge of the work in the interior and some were put in charge of the external work of the temple. They were torch-bearers, watchmen, bearers of vehicles, gardeners,

¹ S.I.I. IX, Pt.I, No.101 and 104; S.I.I., XVIII, No.61 and 295

garland makers, goldsmiths, tailors, carpenters, treasurers, *sthanikas*, etc.

A number of Brahmin were engaged in temple services, such as performing the *pujas* and chanting *mantras* (*Slokas*). For example, emperor Krishnadevaraya appointed thirty-seven Brahmins to perform a variety of duties in the Bālakrishna temple.¹ These included the *ācharyas* or *archakas* or *bhattachāryas*, priests who conducted the worship in the inner shrine, *pauranikas* (reciters of *Puranas*), *jyothishyas* (Astrologers), a *sadasya* (or the superintending priest in the performance of rituals and sacrifices), a *brahma* (Chief priest for temple festivals), those appointed for *VedaParāyana* (recitation of Vedas), for *Mantra-Pushpa* (offering flowers while reciting *mantras*), for *Pavanābhiseka* and for *Namatreya*. These different services have been referred to in one of the epigraphs of A.D. 1534 from the Tiruvengalanātha temple.² Further it adds to the list by referring to the appointment of *Parichārikas* (attendants who rendered assistance to the officiating priests) Brahmins for narrating *Ithihasa* (recitation of the epics) and *Bhagavata*, the *Ghaliyara* (the Watchman of the temple, who strikes hours and the *Katigeya* (a temple servant who also joins the processions of the deity)³ *Svayampakis* (or cooks) who prepared food offerings for the deity or for distribution in the *Rāmanuja-Kutas*⁴ or temple *Chattras*. Some of the

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, Nos. 254 and 255

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.564.

³ Verghese Anila – Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara, p.99

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.280; S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, Nos. 564 and 607

epigraphs give the list of wages of those who were involved in the menial services in the temple kitchen, such as grinding of wheat, pounding of rice etc.¹ A record from the Vitthala temple complex refers to those engaged for decorating the temple chariot and erecting and decorating the *pendals* on festive occasions.² Perhaps these labourers were not regular temple employees. Some inscriptions from this same temple also indicate the presence of temple-dancers³ and some musicians.⁴ An inscription from the Achyūtarāya temple gives the list of employees who were discharging their duty in and outside the temple. There were the priests for performing *abhisheka*, *mantrapushpa*, *pauranikas*, for *ithihasa*, watchman, *bhagavatas*, *katige* persons and for *svayampaka*, *senatova*.⁵ An epigraph from the Vitthala temple also refers to the nature of work in the temple, and the persons engaged in the temple services with their names like: *Sīhanikas* of the temple were Demaya, Narasaya, Virapa, Chikavirapa and Purushottama. *Senatova* was there to look after the affairs of the temple, which is mentioned in the epigraph by name Konapa. The other members of the temple like *natuvaranga*, *svayampaka*, *ghaliyara* etc., are mentioned in the inscription of the temple.⁶

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.653 and 678

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668

³ Ibid., Nos.607 and 668

⁴ Ibid., Nos.668 and 678

⁵ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.564

⁶ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.606; A.R.No.62 of 1904; S.I.I. Vol.XVII, No.7

Perhaps in large temples there must have been still other employees, such as those who carried the processional deities mounted on the *Vāhanas*, light bearers, many others of whom, however, the contemporary sources are absent and no description is given.

Temple as Repository of Arts:

Art and religion are inseparable. Religion was the base for all arts. Temples fostered and encouraged fine arts. The practice of offering worship to the god in the temple, as mentioned in several inscriptions of Vijayanagara consisted of both *Angabhoga* and *Rangabhoga*. *Anga* means the body and *bhoga* means service or enjoyment. *Angabhoga* therefore means every service rendered to the body of the deity like bath, smearing with sandal paste, burning incense, burning, lamp, decoration with flowers.¹ *Rangabhoga* means external service beside the body. External services like offering *dhupa*, *dipa*, *naivedya*, *archana* and theatrical enjoyment like singing, dance and drama performed on a *ranga*,² i.e., elevated floor in the centre of *Sabhamantapa* or *navaranga*, a hall in front of the sanctum sanctorium. Some inscriptions of the temple mention *Srikārya*,³ which was nothing but *angabhoga*, and *rangabhoga*.

¹ Chidananda Murthy, Kannada Sasanagala Adhyayana, p.183.

² Chidananda Murthy, Kannada Sasanagala Adhyayana, p.183.

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.I, Nos. 317 and 329

Being cultured and religious the rulers of Vijayanagara built many temples of different faiths in the Capital. Some of the large temples in the City like Virupāksha, Bālakrishna, Achyūta, Vitthala, Hazāra Rāma, Pattabhi Rāma, Raghunātha became centres for patronising music, dance, drama, sculpture, architecture, painting and other arts. These big temples like the 'King's Court' had for rendering service there a band of vocalists, and instrumentalists, beautiful dancers, dance masters, drummers, pipers, conch-blowers, choristers, male dancers, devadasis, actors, humourists, jesters, general speakers, debators, voice entertainers, gesture professionals, orators and poets etc. For exhibiting fine arts, the Vijayanagara temples were the common places. The temples served as a venue for the professionals to display their talents. As these temples were patronised by the rulers, naturally the patronage and support was also extended to those who depended on it.

The bigger temples of Vijayanagara were usually elaborate. The typical Vijayanagara temple consisted of a sanctum, *pradakshināpatha antarala*, an *ardha-mantapa*, *navaranga* or *sabha mantapa* with entrances on three sides, *mukha-mantapa* or front pillared hall, a *kalyana-mantapa*, *parivāra* shrines or shrines for attendant deities and an enclosed *prakara* (Court yard) with entrances adorned by lofty *gopuras* (gate ways). The entrances into the temple complex might be one or three in number. In

addition to these parts of a temple, a *balipit̄ha*, a flag staff and lamp-pillar were also found.¹ However, the Vijayanagara temples in the Tamil country had some more features of which some were added to the City temples of Vijayanagara. An epigraph of AD 1521 issued by an officer, Timmarāja, mentions that he built a “*Utsava-mantapa*” for keeping the images of deities in the Hazāra Rāma temple.² Originally this temple did not possess this additional *Utsava-mantapa*. Another epigraph from the Vitthala temple of A.D. 1554, of reign period of Sadāsiva Maharaya record that Udagiri Thimma rajayadēva Mahā-arasu, for the merit of his father, built a “*Uyyale-mantapa*” in the temple complex.³ Many *mantapas* were there at the Vitthala temple but this *Uyyale-mantapa* was newly added as one of the features borrowed and introduced from the Vijayanagara temples in Tamil country.

In most of the major Vijayanagara temples *navaranga* or *sabhamantapas* were constructed especially for the performance of music and dance. For instance, Krishnādēvarāya built *rangamantapa* in the Virupāksha temple as mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1510.⁴ One of the Telugu inscriptions of A.D. 1545 from the Madhava temple in the Capital records the construction of the *rangamantapa* for holding dance and for both

¹ Rajasekhara S., Master Pieces of Vijayanagara Art, p.8

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.250

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.653

⁴ A.R. 29 of 1889; E.I. Vol.I, P.361; S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.259

vocal and instrumental music recitals in this temple.¹ The large pillared halls in the Vitthala, Tiruvengalanātha (Achyūta Rāya) Mālyavanta Raghunātha, Pattabhi Rāma temples were built for dance and music performances within the temple complex.

A. DANCE

In the temple ceremonies, public rituals, festivals, the elements of dance and music were essential. Dances were performed by dancing girls employed in the temple.² The main duty of a dancing girl was to dance and sing before the deities. For this purpose they were fully trained in the art of music and dance at the cost of the temple under its own expert musicians and dance masters.³ Itinerants who visited the Capital have left lengthy descriptions of the female dancers and their role in the temple services and processions,⁴ and also in the City and court festivals. Domingo Paes, who visited the Court and palace of Krishnadevarāya describes in detail the hall where women of the royal household were taught dancing.⁵ From the foreigner's accounts it appears that there were two groups of dancers, those attached to the temples; and those attached to royal court.

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.248

² H.A.S. No.18, Ins. No.13

³ E.I. Vol.V, No.7; E.C. X, B.P.,38

⁴ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, pp.262, 266 and 268

⁵ Ibid., pp.288-289

Temple dancers also participated in the *Mahānavami* festival ceremonies at the court. These dancing girls kept alive the art of dancing. On all mornings of the *Mahānavami* festival they used to dance outside the house, when Krishnadevarāya was in the chapel of the House of Victory.¹ They participated actively in all the car festivals.² On every Saturday they had to dance before the idols in the temples of the City, and in the afternoons during festivals they had to wrestle.³

Devadāsis were the female servants in temples. *Devadāsis* were young, charming, beautiful and accomplished women in singing, dancing and public relations.⁴ They were attached to temples for specific purpose i.e., to perform dance and music in temples. They had high social status. Some of the temple dancers were honoured and conferred with certain privileges for their services. There were some royal dancing girls, Mangayi of Belgula, a lay disciple of Charukirtipandita Acharya, who was called ‘*Raya-Patra-Chudamani*’, a crest jewel of royal dancing girls.⁵ Many *devadasis* gave donations for the upkeep of temples. An epigraph testifies that one of the *devadasis* constructed a *Vasanta-mantapa* and *natakasala*.⁶ *Devadasis* with their great skill in arts enchanted the minds of devotees who

¹ Ibid. p.266

² Ibid., p.262

³ Saletore R.N. – Some Aspects of Art during the Reign of Krishnadevaraya, The Great in Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration, p.205

⁴ Sahoo B.B. – Devadasi System in India, Employment News, 18th – 4th May, 1996.

⁵ Saletore B.A. – Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara Empire, p.409

⁶ M.E.R., 1914, No.354

gathered in temples, and their accompaniment added more glamour and colour to the religious processions of the deities in the city. They became a source of inspiration and inspired the minds of sculptors.

Courtesans are also referred to often in the context of temple and Royal Court in the City. Their profession was not confined to prostitution alone. They were mainly taught to sing and dance from their childhood.¹ Some of the foreign travellers Paes and Nuniz were struck by the beauty of the dancing girls and dexterity of their movements. A courtesan had to be accomplished in various fields, and had to be a learned scholar, a skilful musician, a clever gambler and a brilliant conversationalist in order to win the men of wealth and distinction.² Most of the courtesans were attached to the royal court to please the king. And also they took active part in festivals especially during the Mahanavami. On some special occasions they were dancing in temples too. The difference between courtesans and temple girls was that the former lived independently at the Capital and the latter were attached to temples and depended on its earning for their lively hood.³

The temple dancers were highly honoured by the king and were given grants. An epigraph of A.D. 1531 of Achyutadevaraya states that a temple

¹ Vasundhara Filliozat – Barbosa in Vijayanagara, 1st Rev. Ed., p.304

² Sri Lakshmi Katragodda – Women in Vijayanagara, p.37

³ Ibid., p.39

dancer by name Kuppasani was given the title of ‘*Vidvatsabha-rāya-Ranjakam*’ in the court of scholars.¹ Some Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam Inscriptions record that there were expert dancers in the Vijayanagara Capital City. Sometimes kings appointed and deputed some proficient dancers from the capital to the temples of other places. Achyūtadevarāya sent a number of dancers from his capital to serve god Sri Venkatesvara at Tirupati. One among these dancers was Muddu-Kuppayi, the daughter of Kuppasāni in A.D. 1531.² Another inscription of A.D. 1540 states that Hanumasani, daughter of Uddida Timmayana was also sent by the king Achyūtadevarāya to serve in the temple of Sri Venkatesa.³ The dancing girls also gave enormous gifts for the public welfare.

B. MUSIC

Since Vedic age music was regarded as one of the best entertainments which could please both man and god. It occupied an important place in the temple worship. Music is the expression of human emotions and it is part of human nature. From ancient times music came to be cultivated as a fine art. From very early times Karnataka appears to have been familiar with Bharatamuni’s *Natyasastra*, the oldest treatise on the subject. The proficient musicians and dancers have drawn inspiration from the system of

¹ T.T.D.R., Madras, 1930, p.225

² T.T.D.I. Vol.IV, No.II, p.23

³ T.T.D.I. Vol.IV, No.142, p.262

Bharatamuni. Music was practised by both professionals and amateurs, while the former constituted a well defined section of the society. Music was practised by both men and women. During Vijayanagara music formed part of education and was also given to the princes and princesses. Besides dance, music constituted an essential element of temple activities. Many inscriptions refer in detail regarding the musical performances rendered to the deities in different temples. Grants of land, houses etc., were made to the artists for rendering these services in temples.

Music in the temple, as elsewhere, was of two kinds, vocal and instrumental. Both vocal and instrumental musicians were patronised by temples. Temples considered the services of both as essential. The dancers were often accompanied by instrumentalists, some of whom were also shown in dancing postures. Both male and female instrumentalists played in temples on a variety of musical instruments. An epigraph from the Vitthala temple¹ supports the sculptural evidence of the presence of both male and female dancers and musicians. A variety of musical instruments which were used by the instrumentalists serving the temple were *Kinnari*, *Vallaki*, *Vipanchi*, *Ravanahasta*, *Dandika*, *trisarigantra*, *svaramandala*, and *Parivadini*, *Sankha*, *Sringa*, *Vamsa*, *Tittiri*,

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668

Bambuli, Kahale. Some of them were wind instruments. Percussion instruments known to artists were *Ottu, Karade, Mridanga, Dhakka, Pataha, Avuja, Dundubhi, Panava, Bheri, Dimjdima, Trivali, Hissala, Damaru, Chambaka, Dande, Runja, Dolu, Mukunda, Ravalı, Kanthirava, Gajadhakka, Simhagante, Pavala, Chinkiru*, etc., many of these cannot be identified today. Some of the solid instruments used were *Jayaghante, Kinkini, Jhallari, Kamsale*. Special mention must be made of the thirty two types of *Vinas*, eighteen kinds of flutes known to them.¹ Even sculptures in temples show a wide variety of instruments that were in use. The drums were of different types. Among the wind instruments were the flute, horn, a large trumpet like instrument, the conch and a narrow wooden wind instrument. Some percussion instruments such as cymbals and wooden clappers are also represented.²

The Vijayanagara period witnessed great scholars in music, besides its exponents. Vidyāranya, the great pontiff was a distinguished scholar in music wrote the *Sangītasāra*. He mentions fifteen primary ragas. During Immadi Dēvarāya, the *Asthana Pandita Chatura Kallinātha* was encouraged to write a commentary on *Sangita Ratnakara* of Sāranga Dēva (A.D. 1210) He composed a work called *Katanidhi*, (*Sangita Kalanidhi*) and had the title ‘*Rāya Vaggeyakara*’. He was the originator of the new mode of classifying

¹ Basavaraja K.R. – History and Culture of Karnataka, p.648

² Verghese Anila – Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara, p.108.

Ragaas called the *Mela-paddhati*.¹ In the last quarter of the 15th century, Śripadarāya, the Madhva saint had great musical distinctions to his credit, and was the guru of the king Śāluva Narasimha. He composed hundreds of scientific musical compositions like the *Ugabhogā*, *Suladi*, *Gita*, *Prabandha* etc., His compositions became inspiring models to Vyāsaraya and Purandaradāsa. Vyāsaraya, the religious preceptor of Krishnadēvarāya was highly proficient in Sanskrit and music. Kanakadāsa, Vadirajaswāmi, and Purandaradasa were his three distinguished disciples. All these three popularised the *Dasakuta* and *Karnataka* music. Purandaradasa is considered as ‘*Karnataka-Sangitapitamaha*’ (Father of Karnataka Music). His contributions to the development of music were epochal. He combined in himself the rare synthesis of music and poetry. Kanakadasa visited the Capital and his work ‘*Mohanatarangini*’ is full of devotional fervour and philosophical ideas.

During the time of Krishnadēvaraya, Bandham Lakshminarayana wrote the *Sangita-Suryodaya* in Sanskrit and contributed further towards systematizing Karnataka music. Krishnadēvaraya appointed the famous musician Lakshminārāyana to teach music and dance to the royal ladies.² Acyūtadēvaraya and Aliya Rāmarāya were also said to have been great patrons of music; and engaged Bakarāya Rāmappaya for the same purpose

¹ Kinnari Vidwan Hulugur Krishnacharya – Music Under Vijayanagara Empire, V.S.C.V. , p.369

² Madhao P. Patil, Court Life Under the Vijayanagara Rulers, p.163

of music and dance.¹ Rāma-amatya who was a famous musician in the court of Rāmaraya, wrote the *Svaramēla Kalanidhi*.² Krishnadevaraya himself was an accomplished musician. An epigraph of Krishnapura praises him as being unrivalled in music.³ The foreign visitor Paes states that Charistovao de Figueiredo presented this monarch certain musical instruments with which he was greatly delighted.⁴ Aliya Ramaraya also seems to have been well known for his musical attainments. An inscription of A.D. 1589 records that he took great pleasure in singing and playing on the *Vina*.⁵

In fact music and dance appear to have been interwoven in the cultural life of the Vijayanagara people. During the festivals like *Mahānavami*, worship of the gods in temples, and for the royal entertainment dancing and music had a unique place as a medium of entertainment. Nicolo Conti saw the common folk of the City spending ‘three entire days in singing, dancing and feasting’.⁶ Even on such occasions like: *Sati* or self immolation of women and the *Sidi* or swinging ceremony, much music and dance went on.⁷

¹ Sri Lakshmi Katragodda – Women in Vijayanagara, p.35

² N.Venkata Ramayya, Studies in the History of Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara (Reprint), p.442

³ E.I.I. p.401

⁴ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.251

⁵ E.C., XII, CK.39, p.84

⁶ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.84

⁷ Saletore B.A. – Social and Political Life in VN, Vol.II, p.399

Thus, the temples of Vijayanagara acted as a common platform for variety of artists. To some extent it is superfluous to say that these twin arts viz., dance and music were highly cultivated in Vijayanagara capital city.

C. SCULPTURE:

Temple as an employer employed sculptors¹ and masons.² The capital city of Hampi abounds in the remains of many large and small temples. In some of these temples worship is conducted even today. Many sculptures belonging to the faiths like Śaiva, Vaishnava and Jaina are found portrayed on the walls and pillars of temples in the City. Some mega sculptures carved out of huge boulders. Of these two are of Ganesā, Nandi, Badavilinga, Lakshmi-Narasimha commonly called Ugra-Narasimha and Uddana Virabhadra are important.

The gigantic and magnificent, 6.7 metres high Lakshmi-Narasimha monolith with in a single celled shrine in Krishnāpura was the last great act of Krishnadevarāya. An epigraph placed in front of the shrine³ states that this monolithic statue was called Lakshmi Narasimha (and not Ugra-Narasimha as it is popularly called today). Epigraph gives some more details that it was consecrated on 2nd April, A.D. 1528 on the orders of the emperor Krishnadevarāya by Arya Krishna Bhatta, who appears to have been his

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.101

² S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.I, Nos.87 and 112; ARIE, 1960-61, No.B.556

³ ARSIE, 1889, No.34; E.I. Vol.I, pp.398 – 402

domestic priest or *guru*. Here god Narasimha sits on the three fold coils of serpent king *Adisesha*, in cross legged posture; of the four arms two are completely detached, one encircling the waist of his consort Lakshmi, the other one is not seen; but the broken position of an arm assures protection to the devotees. Colossal Narasimha with an articulately chiseled crown and well-delineated *mane* and large protruding eyeballs, still retains natural awesome charm. The raised seven hoods of *Adisēsha* serve as a canopy. On the top of the hoods there is a carved lion mask. The deity is seated below a *makara-torana* springing from two ornate pilasters. Though the image Narasimha is enclosed by walls and a passage and the roof, the shrine is left unfinished.

Within few metres to the left of Narasimha statue, a well preserved, cut out of a boulder monolithic *Sivalinga* is found, and is popularly called *Badavi-Linga* or the *Linga* of a poor woman, and measures about 3 metres in height. The *Linga* is enclosed by walls and a roof and completely in tact. The bottom part of *Sivalinga* is always under water.

Uddāna-Virabhadra is the local name given to the deity, which was consecrated in A.D. 1545, by a *Virasaiva Dalavayi Jangamayya*, the agent of Yera Timmaraja, the younger brother of Aliya Rāmaraya in Krishnapura, near Hiriya Chattra and the deity is called in the inscription¹ as 'Mudu-

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.266; ARSIE, 1889, No.36 and 37

Veeranna'. This temple must have been attached to the Virasaiva matha i.e., Hiriya-matha or Hiriya Chattra. This is the tallest (with 3.7 mts high) of the images of Virabhadra found at the capital. The image is four armed one, holding the arrow, *Khadga*, bow, and shield. It was carved during the rule of Sadāsivaraya.

Ganēśa also called as Vignēśvara, Vināyaka, Benaka or Ganapati is a very prominent deity occupying a prime position in Hindu worship and considered as remover of obstacles and protector of worshippers. Images of Ganēśa are to be seen at many places in India, and Vijayanagara City was not an exception to it. There are a few Ganēśa shrines extant in the City. The two big idols of Ganēśas are in the Hēmakutā region.

The Sāsuvekālu Ganesa or Mustard-Seed Ganēśa, the smaller of the two Ganēśas is housed in an open fine pillared *mantapa*, fairly preserved and meticulously extended. The height of the statue is 2.4 mts, and carved out of a single boulder of granite. The seated Ganēśa is shown with a prominent big belly and four hands. He holds a *parasu* or battle axe, *pasa* or noose, *mōdaka* or sweet ball and a broken tusk. The *Naga* encircles his belly, the sacred thread (*yajnōpavita*), bracelets, necklaces and the crown are neatly carved. Ganēśas vehicle, the mouse has been carved out in a separate stone and placed near the image. The left hand and trunk of the Ganēśa are damaged.

Nearby is the other massive monolithic Kadale Kālu Gañesa(Bengal-gram Gañesa). This image is taller and more massive than the Sāsuvekalu Gañesa, but not so fine in its carving. It is spoiled and the belly is much damaged. The god Gañesa is shown with four hands and holds in them the battle axe, noose, broken tusk and a sweet ball. The crown of Ganesa is well conceived.

The big Nandi image is located at the eastern end of the Virupaksha Bazar, facing opposite God Virupaksha. Nandi is carved out of a natural boulder and is in dilapidated *mantapa*, behind the two storeyed building with twelve well-carved and polished black stone pillars of the Kalyana Chālukyan style. Nandi is rather crude in its execution.

Some Jaina temples of City depict sculptures of *Thirthankaras*, *Dharanēndra*, *Yakshas*, *Munis*, *Saints*, *Nishidis* and seated *Munis*.¹

The Vijayanagara sculptor, an expert that he was showed his skill not only in making the mega sculptures, but he also exhibited his skill even in small reliefs on walls and pillars of temples.

The Virupāksha temple abounds with sculptures of Siva-linga, Nandi, Siva and Pārvati, Hanumān worshipping Linga, Bhairava, Kirātarjuniya are common. The other common sculptural reliefs of the temple are Bedara Kanṇappa and Siriyyāla, Stuccos of Siva's marriage with Pārvati, Siva saving

¹ Talwar H.T. – Jaina Art and Architecture at Vijayanagara (Hampi), p.17

the life of his devotee Markandeya, Śiva in the company of Pārvati, Ganeśa, Kārtikeya are also seen.

The temples of Vitthala, Bālakrishna, Achyūtaraya, Hazāra Rāma and Pāṭtabhirāma have Vaishnava sculptures plenty in number. Especially, the excellent ones of these reliefs are found on the outer walls of Hazāra Rāma temple. Many incidents narrated in the epic, *Rāmāyaṇa* like the performance of *Putrakamesti Yajna* (Sacrifice) by *Maharāja* Dasaratha, crossing of the river Ganga by Rāma, Sita and Lakshmaṇa, Rāma shooting an arrow through seven trees for killing Vāli, slaying of wicked Tātaki, Hanumān sitting on his tail in the Court of Rāvana, and fight between Rāma and Rāvana are beautifully carved here. Besides these reliefs, walls also contain incidents from the life of Krishṇa. These reliefs carved on walls with much care exhibit the vigour, movement and subtlety. The pillars and walls are decorated with the sculptures of Krishṇa dancing on the hood of Kaṅginga with the tail held high in the left hand, some of mischievous acts of Krishṇa like stealing of butter from the houses of *gopis* or milkmaids, and *Dasavataras* of Vishnu which were favoured much by the sculptors.

One of the distinguished sculptures in the Vijayanagara City was that of Anantasayana or Ranganatha. This also depicts the birth of Brahma, the Creator. This sculpture is shaped out of a boulder on the bank of the Tungabhadra river, a little distance from the Kodanda Rama temple. Here

the god Vishnu is shown as reclining on the coils of *Adisesa* in the company of his consorts Sridevi and Bhudevi, both tending his feet. The gods are shown with different ornaments of *haras*, bangles, anklets, ear-rings, and are decorated with crown. Anantaśayana is shown four-armed. The lower right holds a disc and the upper left a conch (Shell), while the upper right supports his head and lower left is placed on his side along the legs. A multi hooded Sēsha makes up the canopy. Out of the naval of Ranganātha springs forth a lotus with the four headed Brahma seated on it. This relief is superbly conceived and dexterously chiselled.¹ Nearby the Ranganātha sculpture is the Lakshmi Narasimha image in *sukhasana*.

Portrait sculpture became increasingly popular under Vijayanagara rulers. The portrait of rulers, queens, devotees and chiefs were cut in stone or cast in metal. The creative skill of sculptors and painters was more realistic in making statues and colouring. This can be verified by examining the observation of Domingos Paes, who saw the statues of Krishnadevarāya and his father. These were placed at the entrance leading to the king's residence. He describes that "at the entrance of this door outside are two images painted life like and drawn in their manner which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of the king, the father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their

¹ Rajasekhara S. – Master Pieces of Vijayanagara Art, p.14

apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive".¹ This practice of raising such statues, carving portraits was certainly known to Vijayanagara craftsmen. The torsos of a king and queen can be seen even today within the *Prakāra* of the Achyūtarāya temple in the city.

One of the royal servants, by name Śriranga made a portrait of his master, king Mallikārjuna, carved in stone. Here the king in this sculpture is shown standing with his left hand on his waist.² And the sculpture of the sculptor himself (Śriranga) is also carved.³ The well known portrait sculpture of Krishnadevarāya with his queens may be mentioned here. These three sculptures are like those in Tirupati, where Krishnadevarāya and his queens are standing in *anjali* postures. It is so unfortunate that heads of all the three portraits are missing. They once adorned the Vitthala temple. Even the pillars of Achyūtarāya temple have some sculptures. Very recently an image was discovered near Vitthala temple, and was wrongly identified as the portrait of Purandaradāsa, a composer-saint, of the first half of the 16th century. It is in fact, the image of Tondaradippodi Alvar.⁴ An inscription in the Vitthala temple, dated in the reign period of Achyūtadevarāya speaks of the consecration of the images of *Alvars* in a *mantapa* of the Vitthala temple by a merchant called Gandha Tippi Setti.⁵

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.284 – 285.

² ARIE from 1957 – 58, No.204

³ Ibid., No.205

⁴ S.Rajasekhara – Master Pieces of Vijayanagara Art, p.16.

⁵ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.566; ARIE for 1904, No.10.

Vijayanagara temples also contain a number of secular sculptures besides religious. The secular sculptures on the walls of temples or of the other buildings reveal a lot about the social aspects of the times. Many sculptural depictions of dancers in temples and elsewhere show that two types of dances were in practice in the city viz., strictly codified classical dance and folk dance. Nicolo Conti has described the stick-dance in the City performed in the early 15th century.¹ The outer wall of the Hazara Rama and the bottom panels of *Mahānavami Dibba* show the structural reliefs of stick-dancers (*Kolata* dancers). Along the *Kolata* dancers there are also reliefs of classical dancers. Thus, the *mārga* i.e., classical dance and *desi* i.e., folk dances coexisted and were mutually complimentary.² The *Mahānavami Dibba* has also many rows of sculptural reliefs depicting incidents from the daily life of the people. The different panels display the figures like hunters, engaged in killing wild animals, women pounding grain; wrestlers, boxers and acrobats; procession of camels and horses with grooms and court scene also. One of the panels is bears evidence for *Holi* women sprinkling coloured water on their friends during *Holi* festival. This festival was witnessed by Nicolo Conti, who visited the City and wrote that “There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passersby, even the king and the queens themselves with saffron water, placed for that

¹ Vasundhara Filliozat – Vijayanagar, p.251

² Vatsyana K. – Dance in Indian Painting, p.48

purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter".¹ The sculptures in temples and other buildings further show the costumes of dancing girls, soldiers, kings, officers, etc., These sculptures also throw a welcome light on the different types of musical instruments which were in use.

D. PAINTING

India has a great tradition in art. In India fine arts like painting, dance, and music owed their inspiration to intense religious feelings. Karnataka has been no exception to this.² Painting as an art received enough support and encouragement from the rulers, generals, and other officers during the Vijayanagara period. In the City magnificent paintings are painted on the ceiling of the *mukha-mantapa* of the Virupāksha temple. The paintings are also found on the beams supporting the ceiling. These paintings belonged to the first half of the 16th century.

During the reign of Krishnadevaraya painting reached a remarkable state of realism. In the Ivory room, the foreign visitor Paes saw, not only the craftsmanship but also mentions that, on the same side "is designed in painting all the ways of life of men who have been here even down to the Portuguese from which the king's wives can understand the manner in

¹ Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.85

² Basavaraja K.R. – History and Culture of Karnataka, p.626.

which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and to the beggars". This reveals the range of topics which attracted not only the queens but even the painters.¹

The walls of certain chambers within the palace were painted. Domingo Paes saw this when he visited the palace and he found that- "Above this chamber, was another, smaller and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted, and the walls of which had carvings of amazons and was likewise beautified. They had begun to paint this chamber and they told us that it had to be all plated with gold, as well as the ground below as all the rest".² Further he writes that "Thence he (King) he goes to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls, which has many pillars hung with cloths right up to the top and with the walls handsomely painted, it has on each side two figures of women very well made".³ At the end of the palace, even recesses were painted, as Domingos Paes observed and writes that "At the end of this house a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order to stretch better and loosen their bodies and legs...."⁴ Not only the walls were painted. Besides this, painting was utilised to adorn even animals. Paes noted this during the "Annual Review of the royal troops at the time of *Navaratri* celebration." 'The elephants in the

¹ Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Vol. p.197

² Sewell Robert – A Forgotten Empire, p.287.

³ Ibid, p.250.

⁴ Ibid. p.277

same way', he narrates "that are covered with caparison of velvet and gold with fringes and rich cloths of many colours, and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts".¹

This tradition of painting, must have permeated even into the Virupaksha temple, where much use of red and yellow painted panels are visible.

In the Virupāksha temple, the themes for the paintings are based on the Saiva mythology and epics. To some extent they highlight the contemporary social life. Two sets of paintings are painted here. In the first set paintings have been done on the ceiling. It consists of a large panel painted with much care, and representing the well known episodes from the *Siva-puranas* and the two epics *Rāmayana* and *Mahābhāratha*. The beams of the *mukhamantapa* contain the second set of paintings. The panels are very small in size, confined to accommodate only one figure depicting legendary animals, sages, birds, musicians, devotees and deities. There are sixty seven of such small panels in this set.

The important features of these paintings are as follows:

1. The figures are mostly depicted in profile. While depicting Brahma, instead of showing three heads, all the four heads are painted.

¹ Vasundhara Filliozat – Vijaynagar, p.105

2. Green, tomato-red and earth gray are the prominent colours used in the paintings.
3. The animals have eyes like those of human beings with eye-lashes.
4. The various characters are richly ornamented and are elaborately dressed.
5. Each of the panels has a border filled with flowers and other floral designs.
6. The nose-stud as an ornament is commonly portrayed.¹

The marriage of Śiva and Pārvati (Virūpāksha and Pampadevi), the marriage of Rāma and Śita, Tripurasamharamurti, Manmatha Vijaya, Dasavataras, Astadikpalas, Draupadi swayamvara, Gopika Vastrāpaharaṇa and the Trimurtis. Another panel, large in size, shows a procession of a saint in palanquin are special mention worthy paintings.²

The story of *Manmatha-Vijaya* is depicted impressively. Lord Śiva who is in deep meditation is being disturbed by God of Love, Manmatha, through arrows of flowers shot at him to wake up and to fall in love with Pārvati. In the act of disturbing Śiva, Manmatha is accompanied by his consort Rati, whose picture is painted with frightening expression of the forth coming disaster on Manmatha. Here meditating Śiva is painted well, and the river Tungabhadra and Pampasaras are also shown.

¹ Rajasekhara S. – Masterpieces of Vijayanagara Art, p.18.

² Sivarama Murti. C. – Vijayanagara Paintings, Pt.V - VIII

The panel of Tripurasamhāra-murti is in fact a great masterpiece. In this painting Śiva is shown on a chariot, Sun and Moon as the wheels of chariot, the four Vedas as horses, the serpent Adisēsha as the reins, the creator Brahma as the chariotor, Śiva's powerful arrow is none other than Vishnu. The three *Puras* or Cities of the three demons are also painted in three circles. The legends say that Tārakāsura had three sons, Makarāksha, Kamāksha and Vidyunmali. By their severe long penance received a boon from the creator god Brahma that they could die only when all the three are killed at once simultaneously. Here Śiva is depicted as the destroyer of demons with his divine and powerful arrow, and was able to kill all the three brothers at the same time. In this excellent painting Śiva is represented as an invincible warrior, with defiant posture. In the Virupāksha temple Tripuradahana scene is more excellent than in Lēpakshi temple.¹

The other most impressive painting of the temple is the marriage of Lord Virupāksha with Pampāmbike. The theme of this painting is another incident, which according to the *Sthala-Puranas* is supposed to have taken place at Hampi. The gracious marriage scene is well depicted. Insulted by the father, Daksha, his daughter Dākshayani took to self-immolation. Then she was born as Pampa (Pārvati). It was foretold that a son born to Śiva and Pārvati alone would be able to kill demon Tārakasura. Hence, for the welfare of all, Manmatha disturbed the meditating Śiva to fall in love with

¹ Bhoosanurmath S.S. (Ed.) Vijayanagara, p.212

Pārvati, as a result he was burnt by the third eye of Siva. However, the aim of gods was achieved and Siva married Pārvati. Siva and Pārvati married in the presence of Brahma, Vishnu, Ganēsa, Nandi, Tumbura, *Astadikpalas*, Viśabhadra and other gods. Some dwarf attendants viz., *Ganas* are engaged in playing different musical instruments like cymbals, pipes and drums etc., The joyful marriage scene of Siva and Parvati (*Girija Kalyana*) is beautifully painted.

Another panel, large in size and a great masterpiece presents Vidyāranya the great spiritual *guru*. The painting shows a procession of Vidyāranya sitting in a palanquin. The long procession followed by a large retinue including elephants, camels, cavalry, trumpeters, banner bearers and a host of others, is an impressive scene of the 14th century A.D.

Though the other two panels are small in size, from the point of view of painting, deserve attention. Of these two panels, one depicts the idol of Virupāksha and the other panel *Vastrāpaharana* of *gopikas*.

Beyond this another series of three small magnificent groups of panel paintings represent the famous archery test of Arjuna hitting the fast moving fish target, that won him the hand of Draupadi; the other painting of Rama, who is lifting the mighty bow of Siva, which brought him Sita as his bride and happy wedding of Rāma with Sita is shown. Another row of panels shows the different *avatars* of Vishnu.

In addition to these, the other panels depict a hunting scene, a battle scene, some vultures also can be seen in the painting. There is vigour and life in these paintings. The paintings in the Virupāksha temple were painted during A.D. 1509 and 1565.¹ Even the art expert Sivaramamurti C. considers that the Hampi temple paintings, are earlier than the celebrated paintings of Lēpakshi temple.²

E. THEATRE:

Temple was also a centre of theatrical entertainments. There is a paucity of epigraphical evidence to show that during Vijayanagara period temples of the City were the venues of for staging dramas. Some of the temples in the other parts of the empire under the Vijayanagara rulers had theatrical halls i.e., *natakasala*.³ But such separate halls did not form part of City temple complexes.

Like the other branches of knowledge, the earliest representation of plays on the stage appears to have been associated with the religious celebrations by the people. Temple as a centre of attraction entertained its deities, devotees and patrons occasionally by arranging dramatic performances based on the *Puranas*, the epics and some times the plays written by the court poets and kings. All our ancient literature such as the

¹ Kotraiah C.T.M. – Hemakuta, Vol.3, No.9, pp. 8-9

² Sivaramamurti C. – Vijayanagara Paintings, pp.29-31.

³ S.I.I. Vol.III, Pt.III, No.124

Vedas, Brahmanas, Samhitas and epics have direct or indirect references to the existence of dramas.¹ Bhāratamuni, the author of *Natyashastra* equates drama with *Yajna* and recommends the devotees to stage dramas before the gods to have their blessings. According to him. “The gods are never so pleased on being worshipped with scents and garlands as they are delighted with the performance of a drama”.² Further, Bharatamuni says, “he who witnesses the performance of drama will attain the same goal which the master of the *Vedic* lore, the performers of sacrifices or the givers of the gifts will attain.³

A Sanskrit drama *Jāmbuvati Kalyānam*, said to be written by Krishnadevaraya was enacted before the people assembled to witness spring festival (*Vasantotsava*) of god Virupāksha.⁴ The *Rathotsava* of Lord Virupāksha was celebrated on *Chaitrapurnima*, which coincided with *Vasantotsava*. During the Car Festival plays were enacted by the best actors in the honour of the god Virupāksha and was witnessed by the people. This account is given in the ‘*Virupāksha-Vasantotsava Champu*’⁵. Further it says that information about the placing of the figures of Kama and his retinue were placed in the front row of the Virupāksha *ratha*.⁶

¹ Gupta Chandra Banu, Indian Theatre, pp.5-6

² Vara Pande M.L. – Traditions of Indian Theatre, p.45

³ Ibid. pp.45-46.

⁴ Krishna Swami Aiyangar, S. (Ed.) Sources of Vijayanagara History, p.142.

⁵ Raghavan V. – The Virupaksha Vasantotsava Champu of Ahobala, JOR, XIV, p.32

⁶ Panchamukhi R.S. – Introduction to Virupaksha Vasantotsava Champu, p.xii

Temple as an Educational Centre:

Religious institutions like temples, *Agraharas* and *Mathas* of Vijayanagara City played an important role and promoted the cause of religion and also served as centres of religious activity and learning. Education in its beginning was religious. Religious establishments like Hindu temples of different faiths, *mathas* and *agraharas* became centres of education.

With the introduction of Jainism and Buddhism, monastic establishments evolved. This had its impact on Hindu religion and tradition was continued by the *acharyas* and the priests of the Hindu temples, and *mathas*.¹ Education was given much importance from the ancient times. Education was patronised by the rulers, nobles, merchants and the people of all strata of the society.

Many factors such as ethical, social and religious contributed to the development of education in the medieval times. As Vijayanagara City was developed, large number of people belonging to different regions, communities and professions came and settled there. The king took great interest in providing education to the members of the royal family nobles, military servants, merchants, and other subjects. As it was in ancient Karnataka, even in medieval period temples were the centres of education.

¹ Altekar A.S. – Education in Ancient India, Varanasi, 1975, p.75

The construction of large temples like Virupāksha, Vitthala, Bālakrishna, Hazāra Rāma, Tiruvengalanātha, Paṭṭabhi Rāma and establishment of *Agraharas* and few *Mathas* bear evidence to the fact that education received great support and encouragement from the kings. Rayas like Dēvarāya II, Krishnadēvarāya, Achyūtadēvaraya, made liberal donations and grants of lands to the *acharyas* and priests of temples and *mathas* for their services rendered to spread education.

During the reign of Vijayanagara kings education flourished. Innumerable instances clearly show the generosity and bounty of the people in the matter of education. No wonder all temples and *mathas* of the city including *Agraharas* and other educational centres together with literary persons enjoyed the benefit of the general prosperity.

In the Capital City of Vijayanagara one could see temples almost in every street. Abdur Razzak observed that here and there were wonderfully carved temples and fanes to Hindu deities with Brahmanical colleges and schools attached to the more important amongst their number.¹ The teachers were generally of high moral character, religious minded and were well versed in all branches of knowledge. They were proficient in teaching philosophy, logic, *Veda*, *Vedangas*, grammar, poetry, drama, dance, music, astronomy, mathematics and many other branches of learning and literature.

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit., p.82

The teachers were paid remuneration for their services in the form of lands houses, money etc. They were highly respected in the Vijayanagara society.¹

The Vijayanagara Capital City was an important seat of learning. Vyasaraya was much honoured and respected by Krishnadevaraya. He became the chancellor of the Vijayanagara University as poet Somanatha says.² Many temples of the City were the training centres of dance. And they also patronised music and other allied arts. For instance at Tiruvengalanatha temple there was a separate *mantapa* for dance and it was the *natyasala* or training school of that time. It shows how the Rayas gave encouragement to the development of dance and music.

In the City every large temple courtyard was provided with one or more pillared halls or *mantapas*, specially constructed and often very handsome buildings, in which during the great temple festivals, certain ceremonies connected with the idols enshrined in the temples were performed, such as annual marriage ceremony between the main god of the temple and his consort. Whereas other *mantapas* were used as places of religious institutions, and the cloisters or pillared verandahs usually found abutting the outer walls of the courtyard, were for the use of priests and pilgrims who visited the temple.³ Especially in the temples of Hazara Rama,

¹ S.I.I. Vol.III, Nos. 106 and 119

² Jevoor S.V. – History of Education in Karnataka, Dharwad, 1952, p.103

³ Longhurst A.H. – Hampi Ruins, p.77

Virupāksha, Malyavanta-Raghunātha, Tiruvengalanātha, Vitthala, and Pattabhi Rāma this kind of large pillared halls can be seen, which were used for various purposes of imparting education and also for dance and music learning.

Mathas:

Mathas besides being homes of ascetics or spiritual teachers were the resting places. The *mathas* also functioned as centres of learning and education, catering to the spiritual and intellectual needs of the society,¹ and often they even served as feeding centres. *Mathas* also served as teaching institutions, served as one of the most important agencies for spreading knowledge. In the Vijayanagara city *mathas* existed not only for the benefit of their occupants but also for students who came for that purpose from outside. *Mathas* provided the students free food and lodging. The course of study included both religious and secular subjects with a stress on the former.² Many *mathas* maintained regular and full fledged libraries or *Pustakabhandaras* of their own.³

Generally *mathas* in the Vijayanagara City were attached to temples. These *mathas* or monasteries gave shelter to itinerant monks and played a significant role in religious pursuits of the times. The *mathas* were also

¹ Hanumantha Rao B.S.L. – Religion in Andhra, p.417

² Soma Reddy R. – History of Religious Institutions in A.P. from A.D. 1300 – 1600, pp.411-412

³ Sarojini Devi K. – Religion in Vijayanagara, pp.348 – 350.

charitable institutions. They provided lodging facilities to itinerant ascetics, pilgrims and poor travellers. Many *mathas* also maintained *chattras* or free feeding houses. Even some *mathas* provided medical facilities to people.¹ The *matha* of the Vijayanagara Capital City a centre of religion, centre of charity and centre of learning.

In the Capital City there were many *mathas* which belonged to Śaiva and Vaishnava cults. Śaiva *mathas* of different Śaivite schools and Viraśaiva religion flourished. In the same manner Vaishnava *mathas* of Srivaishnava and Madhva sects were there. Besides these there were *Advaita* or *Smārta* *mathas* in Vijayanagara City before founding of the empire.

In the Capital City two *mathas* of the *Advaita* shade are traceable. Vidyaranya Swami Matha situated to the west of the Virupaksha temple and was attached to the temple. This is referred by an epigraph of A.D. 1515.² The second Smarta Matha is the Chintamani Matha in Anegondi on the northern bank of the river Tungabhadra. This *Matha* was in existence in Vijayanagara and also in the post-Vijayanagara period.³ During Sangamas, particularly under Devaraya II Śaiva religion received impetus. An epigraph of A.D. 1430 refers to the Kallu Matha of Hampi.⁴ This Virashaivamatha is now called as Kotturusvāmi Matha. Another *Viraśaivamatha* that could be

¹ Soma Reddy – Op.Cit, pp.446 – 447.

² Gopal B.R. Vijayanagara Inscriptions, Vol.II, No.526.

³ Sugandha – History and Archaeology of Anegondi, pp.178 – 184.

⁴ MAR of 1934, No.27.

identified is the large building with more than hundred pillars in Krishnapura, near Hiriya Kāluve. This *Matha* is referred as Hiriya Chattra in two epigraphs of the 16th century.¹ An eminent Viraśaiva poet, Virupaksha Pandita composed the *Channabasava-purana* in A.D. 1585.² Mudu Viranna temple currently known as Uddana Virabhaṭṭra was attached to this Hiriya Chattra or *Matha*. Paramēśvara *Matha*,³ Guhaguhesvara *Āsrama*,⁴ and Karisiddappa *Matha*,⁵ Mahantina *Matha*⁶ these are identifiable Śaiva Mathas in the Vijayanagara times.

Like Śaiva and Smarta Mathas, Vaishnava Mathas also played an important role in the Capital City. Under Śāluvas and Tuluvas Śrivaishṇavism gained much popularity in the City. The City also became the important active centre of the Madhva sect. A number of eminent and popular Madhva *gurus* and saints came and took residence here. Among them the most famous was Vyāsaraya, who was a preceptor of Krishnadevaraya. In the latter period of Sadāsivaraya and Rāmaraya many Śrivaishnava *gurus* are referred in epigraphs. Around Vitthala Bazar remains of settlements are seen. Few shrines and *mathas* stand outside the enclosure wall of the Vitthala temple. These *Mathas* might have served as

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IV, Nos.265 and 266

² Narasimhacharya R. – Karnataka Kavi Charite, Pt.II, pp.258 – 9.

³ VPR, 1983, No.30, p.39

⁴ Ibid., No.31, pp.39 – 41.

⁵ VPR, 1984-87, No.34

⁶ Ibid. No.32

Srivaishnava *mathas* and Srivaishnava saints lived in *Mathas*. Among these structures Rāmanuja-kuta was a bigger group. Here *prasada* of the god Vitthala was distributed to devotees. An inscription in the temple states that king Sadāsivarāya left grants and one part income of the grants was given to the daily activities and for the distribution of *prasada* at Rāmanuja-kuta.¹

Agrahāras:

Another important institution which promoted religious pursuits and learning was the *Agrahara*. An *Agrahara* was a settlement of Brahmin scholars endowed with lands, houses and other facilities to engage themselves fully in religious and scholarly pursuits. The *Agraharas* were formed by kings, queens, ministers, generals and other rich persons.

An *Agrahara* in medieval times was formed out of a village or a unit of a village. A similar Brahmin settlement in a city or town was called a *Brahmapuri* or *Brahmadēya*. The community of Brahmins in such settlements formed a corporate body, having control of all the property of the *Agrahara* and administering themselves all the affairs. In the Vijayanagara Capital City such Brahmin settlements in the City proper and the suburban, were known as *Agraharas*.

The foundation of an *Agrahara* was considered a great meritorious act like the construction of a temple or a tank. The main reason for

¹ S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.607

establishing an *Agrahara* was the promotion of religious and secular learning and education. During Vijayanagara period many *Agraharas* were developed as great centres of learning. Food and lodging were provided for the Brahmin students. Subjects like *Vedas*, *Vedanta*, *Puranas*, *Agamas* and different schools of philosophy were taught and also other disciplines of learning such as *Ayurveda-sastra*, Astrology, Grammar, Mathematics, *Kāvya*, *Nataka*, Music, Languages and Polity were taught.¹

In the Vijayanagara Capital City four *Agraharas* were established, of which details of three are available. The area around the Bālakrishna temple called Krishnāpura, a new Vaishnavapura was created by Krishnadevaraya in A.D. 1515, and it was an *Agrahara* as referred by an epigraph of A.D. 1543.² Another inscription³ states that king Krishnadevaraya assigned to a number of Brahmins for their services in the Bālakrishna temple. To the Brahmins the king allotted specified shares of land, including the land in Krishnāpura *Agrahara*.

During the times of the same ruler Krishnadevaraya; another *Agrahara* was established in the new suburban centre which was named after his mother Nagaladevi. An inscription of A.D. 1516 states that king Krishnadevaraya granted this as a *manya* village to his *purōhita*, Ranganātha

¹ Kamath U. Suryanath – (Ed.) Karnataka State Gazetteer, Pt.II, p.527.

² ARSIE of 1935-36, No.337

³ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

Dikshita. The latter made the village into an *Agrahara*, giving it the name Nagalādevipura and gave shares in it to Brahmins. In turn, *Purohita* Ranganatha Dikshita, for the merit of the king's mother, constructed there a tank called Nagasamudra and two temples of Nagesvara and Nagēndraśayana.¹

The other *Agrahāra* was Nelalahuniseya *Agrahara*, which was in the quarter of the City called Nimbapura, to the east of Vitthalāpura.² For the Brahmin scholars of the Nelalahuniseya *Agrahara* also Krishnadevarāya granted lands.³ This *Agrahāra* is also mentioned in an epigraph dated A.D. 1540 of the ruling period of king Achyūtadevarāya.⁴

An inscription near Kapilaśrama found at Nimbāpur and dated A.D. 1455, refers to the Kumaragiri *Agrahara*⁵ situated on the southern bank of river Tungabhadra. Further this inscription says that king Praudhadevarāya donated a village to god Saumya Somesvara of Sōmalāpura situated near this Kumāragiri *Agrahara*.

However, the inscriptions mention about the existence of four *Agraharas* in the Capital City, considering the size of the city, different sects of religion and religious life in it, it is possible that there were other *Agrahāras* of which unfortunately, no trace has survived. Temples, *Mathas*

¹ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.504

² S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.255

³ Ibid., AR No. 26 of 1889

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.245

⁵ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.553

and *Agraharas* with lavish endowments and worship created profound impression.¹ They were not only religious institutions but they were great centres of learning, study and contemplation.

In the *Mōhanatarangini* while speaking about Brahmins, Kanakadāsa says that they run *Gurukulas* in the City. Some of them were astrologers, poets and well versed in logic. Each house of a Brahmin had a *Tulasi mantapa*. In these *mantapas* discourses were held, *Kirtanas* were sung in praise of Sri Vishnu and *yajnas* were performed. The Srivaishnavas discussed *Samaveda*.²

Though archaeological data is limited regarding *mathas* and *Agraharas* the available evidence prove that religious institutions such as Temples, *Mathas*, *Asramas* and *Agraharas* promoted the cause of education in the Vijayanagara City.

Temple as a Bank :

In ancient and medieval periods of Karnataka temples and merchant guilds acted as banks giving loans to borrowers and receiving deposits from the public. During Vijayanagara period huge temples were built mainly with an intention to perform all religious ceremonies. Hence, there was a continuous flow of income to temples. As huge amounts accumulated in the

¹ Shri Kantayya, S. – Vijayanagara and Vidyaranya; Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration, Volume, Dharwad, 1936, p.167.

² Mohanatarangini – (Ed.) Hiremath R.C., KUD, Dharwad, 1973, pp. 29 – 30.

temples. The trustees of temples gradually decided to make use of that wealth for the public service. Hence, they invited the leading merchants of the town to utilise that amount and in turn asked them to pay a certain interest for it. Thus, for the merchantile community temples acted as banks.

The constant inflow of money enriched the temple treasury, which served the purposes of banking. Usually the interest rate was considerably high. Some of the inscriptions of Bālakrishna temple and Vitthala temple mention of such banking activities. During the time of Achyutaraya, the interest per month was 5 *ghāttigadyāna* and 50 *chakragadyāna* per month on an amount of 200 *gadyānas*. This amount of interest was sufficient to meet the expenditure of one ritual conducted in the name of a donor in the temple. This information is available in an inscription of Vitthala temple and dated A.D. 1536.¹

Another epigraph of A.D. 1536 from the Vitthala temple explains that Varadappanāyaka donated 10 *ghāttivaras* to the temple treasury for the merit of king Achyūtarāya. For this amount the interest of 11 *chakragadyāna* and *anas* was utilised for the daily offerings of god Vitthala.

Thus, in the absence of banking system the idea of co-operation in finance was developed in the City. Prior to this merchant guilds played a dominant role in the financial matters. In this way temple also served as a

¹ KUES, III, No.194.

centre of social service, thereby attracted people on a large scale.

Thus, compared to ancient Karnataka in medieval period temples attained greater significance as centres of education, fine arts, religion and banking. This is mainly because Vijayanagara empire was headed by great rulers for a long period. Prior to the battle of Talikote Vijayanagara city was well protected by the military and also supported by the strategic geographical features. This must have provided an opportunity to the rulers of Vijayanagara empire to build huge temples in different parts of the City. Because of the natural protection *puras* were developed in a systematic manner. Thus, temples were the hearts of the *puras* and socio-cultural activities.

CHAPTER - IX

SECULAR STRUCTURES IN THE CITY

Vijayanagara, the City of Victory consisted of not only beautiful huge temples, monolithic statues, but also architecturally well planned secular structures like the *Mahānavamidibba*, the Elephant Stables, the Queen's bath, Watch towers, Palaces, the Lotus Mahal, Stepped Tank, the Bazar lines, the *Mantapas*, the Gateways, the Nobles' Quarters etc. It is very interesting to note here that civil engineering technical knowledge was very much present in the minds of kings and architects. It is really surprising to notice such a remarkable expertise among the architects, designers, sculptors in the absence of any formal school of engineering. The construction of such excellent secular structures exhibits that there was exchange of knowledge among experts living in different parts of the empire, because the secular structures were not only established in the Capital City, but also in different cities of the empire. In these structures they have used cementing materials like mortar, lime, cementing powder, boulders etc., The survey of the existing structures in Vijayanagara City reveals that the craftsmen engaged in constructional works were employed throughout the year and they must be from different parts of the empire. For the first time in the history of Karnataka structures like *Mahānavamidibba*, Elephants Stable, Stepped Tank, Queen's Bath, the Lotus Mahal, and Watch Towers were

constructed. The perfection achieved in the secular structures further exhibits the talent of the workers engaged in these construction works. Considering all these features Abdur Razzak has exclaimed the splendour and glory of the Vijayanagara in these words- 'The City of Vijayanagara is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world.'¹

Palaces:

The archaeological remains and excavations reveal the existence of more than 30 palaces in the Vijayanagara City. No other town in India had such a number of palaces since time immemorial. The contemporary foreign accounts, indigenous literary sources and archaeological remains and excavations enable one to know the existence of different palaces in the City. They throw significant information on the history of civic architecture.

The palaces of Vijayanagara are mostly located in the heart of the City. This is known as the Royal Enclosure within the citadel area. The archaeological remains there clearly shows the existence of twelve palaces in the Royal Enclosure² they are:

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.88

² Nagaraja Rao M.S. – (Ed) Vijayanagara Progress of Research, 1983-84, D.A.M. Mysore, 1985, p.119

- (1) Large Palace in the ‘Mint Enclosure’
- (2) Small Palace facing east in the ‘Mint Enclosure’
- (3) Small Palace facing north in the ‘Mint Enclosure’
- (4) Noblemen’s Palace-1
- (5) Noblemen’s Palace-2
- (6) Palace facing north in the ‘Dannaik Enclosure’
- (7) Palace facing east in the ‘Dannaik Enclosure’
- (8) Large Palace in the ‘Zenana Enclosure’
- (9) Water Palace in the ‘Zenana Enclosure’
- (10) Palace to the north-east of the Elephant Stables
- (11) Palace near the Rock-cut Temple
- (12) Palace near the Octagonal Water Pavilion

The names of all these palaces have been mentioned by most of the writers. A careful study of the palaces helps one to know some of the following salient features:

- (1) Most of the palaces faced either east or north.
- (2) Both bricks and lime concrete were used in the construction of palaces.
- (3) These palaces were built with large enclosure of massive stone walls.
- (4) Palaces were built on a single or double or triple granite basement of well polished stones. These basement stones were decorated with foliage designs, *kirtimukhas*, birds, animals, and occasionally even

figures. Originally all these basements were covered with lime plaster, evidence of which survives even today.

- (5) The floors, both inside and outside the palaces, were of thick concrete, and finely plastered with lime.
- (6) The Large Palaces had side projections to create a symmetrical plan with projections and recesses.
- (7) Walls were of rubble masonry and earth, plastered with mud and lime; bricks were used for niches, projections and openings.
- (8) Pillars, beams and rafters were of wood.
- (9) Palace interiors were divided into ascending series of levels, each level has a basement; the topmost level was at the rear (West or South).
- (10) Palaces were crowned with finials of copper or ivory.
- (11) Each level was provided with flights of steps with ornamental balustrades.
- (12) The shape of the palaces were either square or rectangular.
- (13) They were built within the fort.
- (14) Every palace had either well or tank; entertainment platform; *mantapa*; garden.
- (15) In every palace there were a forecourt and corridors.
- (16) Palaces were built either with two storeys or three storeys.

Foreign travellers like Paes, compared the palaces of Vijayanagara to the palaces of Lisbon.¹ Durate Barbosa noticed very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts.² Abdur Razzak also noticed the King's Audience Hall which was the highest structure in the palace centre.³ Queen Gangadevi in her work '*Madhuravijayam*' explained the use of perfumes in palaces and also different compartments of the palace.⁴

Among the palaces built in the capital the 'Royal Palace' was one of the biggest. There were many palaces besides these. They had an enclosing walls surrounded with houses of nobles and dignitaries. Krishnadēvarāya's Palace was surrounded by a very strong wall with an open gate and a medium height tower over the gate.⁵ The palace had chambers with pillars of carved stones. It had courtyard, corridor, staircases and dancing hall. Paes, in his account has given a complete description of the Palace of Krishnadēvarāya. There were two chambers one over the other; and the four sided porch made of cane work in which rubies, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and gold plates were fixed. Even the rooms were decorated with ivory and some paintings. There was a courtyard which was as large as an area of beast fights, very well plastered and in the middle there were some pillars of wood with a crossbeam at the top, all coated with copper gilt. Even the king

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.254

² Vasundhara Filliozat – Vijayanagar, New Delhi, 1997, pp.304-306

³ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.91

⁴ Settar S. – Hampi – A Medieval Metropolis, Bangalore, 1992, p.47

⁵ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.254

used to keep the statues of gods and goddesses that were used in the festival in a small room, built exclusively for them. There were separate rooms for dancing and gymnasium.¹ Paes, Durate Barbosa also found in the City very large and handsome palaces, with numerous courts,..... There were also in this city many other palaces of great lords, who lived there.²

Nuniz saw the palaces of Achyūtadevarāya, which he found were very large with very large rooms. They had cloisters like monasteries with cells and in each one dwelt one of his wives. There was open space between one house and another.³ According to him more than four thousand women could live in it.⁴

Nuniz also gives an account of the palace, which was built for one of the queens of Krishnadevarāya (Chinnadēvi) by his Prime Minister Sāluva Timmarasa.⁵

These palaces were spread in between Prasanna Virupaksha temple situated beyond the Hazara Rāma temple to the Octagonal Water Pavilion from western to eastern direction. All these palaces are centrally located in an area now called 'Urban Core'. This area had inner most fortifications. The other structures found in this area are the Mint, the Dannayaka's Enclosure, the Darbar Enclosure, the Zenana Enclosure, the Noblemen's

¹ Sewell Robert, Op.Cit, pp.285-289

² Barbosa in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.129

³ Nuniz in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.371

⁴ Saletore R.N. – Vijayanagara Art, p.83

⁵ Nagegoud H.L. – Pravasi Kanda India, Vol.2, Mysore University, Mysore, 1966, Opp.410-416

Quarters, the Mahānavamidibba, the Octagonal Water Pavilion, the Stepped Tank, the Lotus Mahal, and the Elephant Stables. Even though these secular structures are small, from the architectural point of view they are noteworthy.

Mahānavami Platform:

This massive podium located in the north-eastern section of the Darbar Enclosure, is the most decorative platform that has survived even to this day. It is about 8 meters in height and 35 meters in square at the base. The upper platform is 23 meters square. This structure is built in four stages with the main step way located on its south-western side. At the back there are two gateways which might have served as a private door to the royal members. The archaeological evidence and foreign accounts throw light on the erection of the platform. Most of the historians say that it was built during the time of Krishnadevaraya. But this view is far from reality. Krishnadevaraya after his victorious Orissa campaign renovated this Platform. Paes describes it as 'House of Victory'.¹ On this Platform the Nine Day Festival i.e., *Navaratri* was celebrated with great pomp and splendour. Throughout these days singing, dancing, music concerts, wrestling and other entertainment programmes, were held. The king, members of the royal family, nobles, ministers and representatives of the feudatory rulers attended

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.263

this *Navarātri* festival. Just in front of the *Mahānavamidibba* there was a platform for dancing and music concerts. Though this festival was celebrated on a grand scale throughout the empire such a platform was built only in Vijayanagara Capital City. This shows that the Vijayanagara rulers gave lot of cultural importance to this *Dasara* festival. The foreign travellers who visited the empire were the eyewitnesses to this festival during their stay in the City. They have given vivid account of the cultural programmes held, the dress the king wore, dancers, nobles, and the ministers. The royal elephants were decorated with various metal ornaments and brought in procession to the *Mahānavamidibba*. Later this tradition was continued by the Wodeyars of Mysore and they celebrated this festival as the State festival. The present Government of Karnataka has continued this tradition with some modifications.

The Audience Hall:

This is another important platform found just in front of the *Mahānavamidibba* which is square in plan and measures 43 x 43 mts, and is reached by a flight of steps from three sides. This is raised on a single platform. There are two gateways, to its east and south and on to its west is a high structure. Originally the hall was divided into ten rows, and wooden pillars of good size supported the roof from the good plastered floor. There are three flights of steps on the north, but the most impressive and excellent

flight is on the south. This structure is identified as an Audience Hall. Even the Persian visitor Abdur Razzak noticed it.¹ The existing remains reveal that this is the highest elevated platform in the citadel area.² The basement of the building is plain and simple and not elaborately carved like those of the palaces and some larger temples. At a distance of about 50 mts. from the Audience Hall to its south-east there is an underground chamber, which measures 10 x 11 mts. in square shape. Abdur Razzak had noticed this chamber within the palace zone, where bullion was locked up. Perhaps, this was one of those treasure houses. Paes had also noticed the locked up chambers with vast treasures stored in them.³

Stepped Tank:

This is one of the most beautiful ponds excavated in the year 1986 within the Royal Enclosure. The measurement of this pond at the bottom is 6.90 x 6.90 mtrs. with eleven steps of equal width. The width of the top of the pond is 20.70 x 20.70 mtr. Each step is about 15 cms. in depth. This pond is artistically designed. Each stone of the pond is cut and carved separately on ground according to the designed plan and position. Each stone is marked on it in the form of small inscriptions. The construction is done by placing different stones from bottom to top. The small inscriptions

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.91

² Longhurst A.H. – Hampi Ruins, Madras, 1917, p.70

³ Abdur Razzak in Sewell Robert – p.92

on stone played a significant role in the constructional technology of this pond. It is significant to note that there was a small shrine towards the south of this tank. Therefore, we can presume that the tank might have served the purpose of a *Kalyani* for the people who lived in the Royal Enclosure, especially of the royal families.¹ This type of pond is not at all built in Pre-Vijayanagara or Post-Vijayanagara periods.

Lotus Mahal:

This is the finest building in the Zenana enclosure. This is one of the best examples of Indo-Saracenic architecture. It has a small pavilion with an upper storey and contains some excellent stucco-ornaments. The ground floor is raised as usual on a high and ornamental basement. This pavilion is open on all sides and is provided with massive pillars and arches supporting the room above. It is reached by a flight of steps on the north side. The upper room is provided with numerous little windows on all sides. One of the salient features of this *Mahal* is that even inside the *Mahal* also we find a number of arches. Here the pillars and arches are Islamic in character. The base, roof cornice and stucco ornaments are in Hindu design. Hence, it is called as Indo-Saracenic in character. Sometimes Lotus Mahal, had also been called Chitrangi Mahal.² Probably that this was the palace of Rāmarāya

¹ Dikshit G.S. – (Ed.) Early Vijayanagara Studies in its History and Culture, p.196

² Saletore R.N. – Vijayanagara Art, p.90

referred to in the *Svaramelakalanidhi*. That text relates that Rāmarāya had a palace called *Ratnakuta* constructed by his Minister Rāma Amatya and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even *Vaijayanti*, the palace of gods. In that palace surrounded by extensive gardens, ornamented with statues, adorned with cool tanks abounding with swans, Rāmarāya spent his time absorbed in literature, music and other arts.¹ As this was situated near water pavilion it must have been a great recreation centre but it is clear that it was built for multi purpose use.

Elephant Stables:

This is situated just outside the Zenana enclosure built in Islamic style. This Elephant Stable was built mainly for the royal elephants which were used occasionally in the royal ceremonies and festivals. This building measures 85 x 9 mtrs., and is rectangular in shape. It has ten cells and on the top of each cell there is a dome and each one built in different style.² In the middle there is a cell with a passage which leads to the roof with a square tower. In each cell we can find a few large iron rings or bars embedded in the floors or walls of the rooms for the purpose of chaining the elephants. The cells are 6 x 6 mtrs., in measurement. The central pavilion divides them into two rows of five on each side. Eight of the ten cells have small

¹ Aiyangar Krishnaswamy – Sources of Vijayanagara History, p.190

² Settar S. – Op.Cit., p.71

doorways on the east. Some cells are interconnected by small door-ways. It was built with solid walls with a roof made of strong wood upon which the strong mortar was used. The beams have iron hooks to tie the necks of the elephants. The four legs of the elephants were also tied. Abdur Razzak describes an elephant stable which was opposite the *Divan-Kaneh*. Each elephant had a separate compartment.¹ This is another perfect specimen of the Islamic architecture in the Capital City. It really pleasant surprises to know the influence of Islamic architecture on secular structures in the City. Even today this structure is in good condition.

The Guards' Quarters:

This structure is also rectangular in shape. This is also built on similar plan to that of Female Guards' Quarters in the Zenana enclosure. Here also we can see eleven arches in the Islamic style. Inside the building there is an open space and above that there are open rooms with roof supported by pillars. The interior portion is completely simple neither the walls nor the pillars are decorated here. There are flights of steps to enter the open hall. There are no walls to separate one room from the other.

The Dannayaka's Enclosure:

The Dannayaka was the commander-in-chief of the troops. The enclosure containing the ruins of his Palace and other apartments is situated

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.92

to the west of the Hazāra Rāma temple. Even Abdur Razzak writes about this area.¹ This enclosure is divided into units by internal walls. All the four units have extensive remains of palaces, pavilions, public or private halls etc. Besides Dannayaka's Palace, there are remains of other several structures in the enclosure. There is a large pillared hall, which later on was converted into a mosque. It has a lofty tower, similar to that of Zenana enclosure. There is a massive watchtower built with stone in the north-west corner of the enclosure. Here the mosque was built by Dévarāya II to give encouragement to the Muslim soldiers because there were constant and continuous wars with the Bahmani Sultans. The Vijayanagara rulers employed Muslims mainly because of their bravery and excellence in cavalry and archery. The original design of the mosque looked like Lotus Mahal and it was built in the same style. Here, as in the Lotus Mahal, bricks and stone were used. In this structure the figures of animals, human, birds and mouldings were carved which bore the Islamic character.² The niches in the back wall were all of the same size. The absence of *mihrab* clearly indicates that even Dévarāya II did not employ the Muslim architects in the construction of this structure and even the Muslim soldiers never assembled for the prayer in this converted structure. And in Islam, converted buildings

¹ Abdur Razzak in Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.91

² Longhurst A.H. – Op.Cit, p.90

are rarely used for prayer. And another possibility is that Devaraya II might not have converted this building into a mosque.

Watch Tower in the Dannayaka Enclosure :

In the north-west corner of the enclosure there is a lofty square stone tower built in Islamic style. There is a staircase of stone, on the top of the tower there is a small room divided on the west side into three little chambers on arranged platforms. There is a large window with platform in the west. Below these windows there are massive corbels for supporting the projecting balconies in front. The upper chambers on the watch tower were used to keep arms and ammunitions for emergency purposes.¹ The roof is supported with arches and small domes. Sometimes it was also called Muhammadan Watchtower.²

The Royal Mint :

The royal mint, which is situated near the Dannayaka's Enclosure, is another important secular structure of the City. It is rectangular in structure with 220 x 150 mtrs. Its eastern wall is about 275 mtrs., and is linked with the southern wall of the Hazāra Rāma temple. The excavated archaeological remains reveal that there was a central building facing east constructed in four ascending levels. The lower most consisted of a 'U' shaped court

¹ Longhurst A.H. – Op.Cit, p.91

² Devakunjari – Hampi – A.S.I., New Delhi, 1998, p.34

surrounded by verandah on three sides and the topmost level consisted of four chambers. Each of the ascending levels was connected by centrally positioned flight of steps and flanked by *yali* balustrades. On the eastern entrance side two pillar bases are found. The second flight of steps is also centrally positioned and leads to the verandah. The final series of steps leads to an open area in front of a central chamber facing east with a passage around. Plastered pillared bases and deep sockets are found at the entrances of the rooms. At the lower level the walls of the verandah and the court are built with the baked bricks and are well plastered. They are provided with niches having circular or semicircular pedestals accommodating stucco figures and fragments of feet, legs, and hands. Traces of 43 pot holes and column bases are found all around the exterior platform suggesting an open corridor. The platform is 1.5 mtr. in height, is built over a lime plastered flooring which is enclosed by a rubble masonry wall running on three sides except on the eastern side. Near the north-east of the complex remains of a gateway built of stones and a monolithic trough are unearthed. Lumps of half burnt wooden logs, charcoal and ash found in the excavation indicate that the super structure was of wood and was destroyed by fire. Abdur Razzak noticed the Royal Mint to the left of the Dannayak's Palace¹ and writes that here they stamped three kinds of gold coins. Besides this Mint, there were two more palaces of smaller size.

¹ Vasundhara Filliozat – Op.Cit, p.261

Queen's Bath:

This structure is situated at the entrance of Kamalāpura from citadel area. This is a square building in the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture. From outside it looks plain and uninteresting structure surrounded by a narrow moat. In the centre of the building there is a small swimming pool. Around this there is an arched corridor with small projecting balconies overlooking the bath in the centre. The walls and arches contain some pretty stucco work here and there, similar in style to that of Lotus Mahal. The architectural features reveal that the Lotus Mahal and the Queen's Bath are built at the same time. The ornamental bath and the garden situated at a distance of half a mile, show that it was used by the royal members. This structure is square on plan, 30 x 30 mts., with an open pond of 15 x 15 mts., located in its centre. The entire structure is beautifully plastered. A step way on the north side enables one to reach the floor of the pond. Four pillars stood in the pavilion. This building was used as pleasure resort by the king and the ladies of the Zenana.¹ There is an inlet and outlet water channel to the bath.

Octagonal Water Pavilion:

This structure is situated about half a km from the Queen's Bath. This is a large eight sided structure. This is also in the Indo-Saracenic style

¹ Longhurst A.H. – Op.Cit, p.55

of architecture and belongs to the same period. This building has arched openings on all sides and contains a little fountain basin in the centre and a massive stone trough carved out of a single stone. Nearby this structure the remains of the old earthenware water pipes which supplied the little fountain may be seen.

Octagonal Bath:

To the north of the Chandrashēkhara temple is a well built eight sided tank with the remains of a little pavilion in the centre and an open pillared corridor with a flat roof running all round the bath. Even to this day this structure is attractive. Like the Queen's Bath, it appears to have been used as a pleasure resort and can be dated to the same period.

Gateways:

The rulers built a number of gateways in the Vijayanagara City. Based on their place of existence they can be classified into two types. (1) Gates to enter the City. (2) Gates within the City to enter the *Puras*. These gateways are the identification structures of either the *Pura* or the City for the visitors. They were also used as toll gates to collect octroi taxes from merchants. They were also helpful for providing security to the city. There is inscriptional and literary evidence for these gates in the City. Every gate was named after the place situated in the opposite direction of the gate, or

named after the temple situated near the gate and also named after the structural design of the gate. Some of the gates are simple in their structure built with two pillars and stone beams. A few gateways are decorated with floral designs and a dome is placed on the lintel. Even we can find small chambers on either side of the pillars of the gateway. They were used either by the guards or by the tax collectors.

The gateways are generally imposing, flanked by distinct bastions originally with terraces at the top supported by the lintel and beams and crowned with a terrace for the security guards. Between the bastions is the *dvārabandha*. Above the lintel, as in domed gate, the terrace has balcony on the sides and crowned with a dome at the centre. The door way has inside it a passage way, platforms on either side, some times with chambers. Outside the door way there are large enclosures protected by massive walls. The gate ways in the walls are mostly small openings connected by stone lintels supported from below corbels in the usual Hindu style of construction, but one or two of them are more ornamental and decorative. The road which leads from Kamalāpura to Vitthalāpura and northwards to the Vitthala temple passes under one of the gateways leading to the river Tungabhadra crossing to Anegondi. The remains of the brick and plaster turret above this gate way is built in the Indo-Saracenic style, while the lower portion is constructed of stone in the usual Hindu style. Another gateway built in the

same style to the south east of the royal enclosure, near Pattābhi Rāma temple outside Kamālapura is a handsome domed gateway and faces towards east and has been one of the main entrances on this side to the Capital City. On the inner side of the gate-way a small guard room is there with a sculpture of Hanumān. Between this domed decorated gateway and the Jaina Gaṇagitti temple on the way to Kampli from Kamalāpura, situated at some short distance towards south east of the domed gateway another gateway is situated called Bhima's Gateway, and it was called so because it contains a large well carved bas-relief image of Bhima, one of the heroes of the *Mahabharata*. This gateway has triple sets of carved corbels carrying the roof slabs. This handsome gateway is the only one existing built in this particular style. This is supported with massive side walls and is a strongly fortified gateway existing in the City. Even Paes observed that it was a very strong City fortified with walls and towers and gates at the entrance and very strong with towers at the gates.¹

An inscription of Bukkarāya I refers to the 'Singarada Hebbagilu'.² As this gate is highly decorative in its structure, it is called Singarada Hebbagilu, i.e. means Ornate Main Gate. This is one of the major gateways, located on the main royal road beginning from Hazāra Rāma temple leading

¹ Sewell Robert – Op.Cit, p.244

² Nagaraja Rao M.S. – VPR – 1983-84, DAM, Mysore, 1985, p.96

to Talavāraghatta and Anegondi bastion.¹ An inscription dated A.D. 1380 mentioned about the ‘*Betekarara Hebbāgilu*’.² Which means the ‘Hunters Gate’ situated to the east of the Urban Core from the palace area. *Sōmavarada Bagilu* was to the south east of the Singārada Hebbagilu, on a road which runs from the Hazāra Rāma towards Udayagiri Bāgilu and Betekarara Hebbāgilu. The Udayagiri Bāgilu³ is mentioned in an inscription of the Vitthala temple, as being on the Kampli road to the east of the City.

In an inscription found at the Jaina temple which is known as Ganagitti Jinālaya there is a reference to ‘Upparige Bagilu’,⁴ situated on the road that leads to Kampli from Kamalāpura. Half a kilometre from this place is the Penugonde Bagilu which leads to the south-east of the City i.e., Varadarajammana Pattana from there to Penugonde another town of the Vijayanagara times.⁵ There is one more gate to royal enclosure known as ‘Huvina Bāgilu’⁶ (Flower gate). It was called flower gate because flowers used to come to the royal enclosure area through this Bagilu. The ‘Aresankara Bagilu’⁷ was connecting the Royal Enclosure and Vitthalāpura area. To the north of the Urban Core on the way from the Royal Enclosure

¹ Nagaraja Rao M.S. – Op.Cit, p.96

² Devaraj D.V., Patil C.S., VPR – 1984-87, p.191

³ S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.II, no.654

⁴ S.I.I. Vol.IV, No.247

⁵ Ibid. No.245

⁶ ARIE – 1943-44, No.B-76.

⁷ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.668

to Mātanga Hill is a gate called ‘Hodeyabagilu’.¹ To the west of Akka-tangikallu (Sisters Boulders) and to the north-west of Prasāṇa Virupāksha temple is a large gate called Kōtisankaradevara Bāgilu.² An inscription dated A.D. 1450 found at Nimbapura mentions refers to the ‘Kotharada Bāgilu’³ which means the gate of store house, situated to the west of Vitthalāpura.

Small Gateways:

Besides these main gateways, there were small gates in the City, which were popularly called ‘*Diddis*’ in inscriptions. They are very simple in their structure. They have no bastions flanking the entrances or guard rooms or chambers and terraces etc. Architecturally they are not decorated. In the Vijayanagara City, there were four small gates. They were: Jadeya sankaradēvara diddi,⁴ located near Akka-tangiyara kallu. The second small gate is Hampadeviya diddi⁵ situated to the north of the above *diddi* which formed the exit from city to the Virupākshapura. The third small gate Mātangēśvara devara diddi,⁶ is an entrance gate to the Mātanga Hill in the

¹ Devraj D.V., Patil C.S., VPR – 1984-87, p.191

² Ibid., p.191

³ S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.453

⁴ Nagaraja Rao M.S. – VPR, 1983-84, p.97

⁵ Ibid., p.97

⁶ Ibid., p.97

Virupākshapura. The fourth small gate 'Remmu diddi'¹ is located to the north-east of the Mālyavanta Hill.

From a carefull observation it is clear that all the above said four small entrances (gates) i.e. *diddis* are in the north-western part of the fortification open to the sacred complex, particularly to the Virupākshapura. These four gates are named after the temples situated in that area.

Watch Towers:

A fort is incomplete without the components of watchtowers and bastions. In most of the fort cities it was the essential feature to construct watch towers at regular intervals all along the fort wall inside the enclosure. The walls were so thick that a specious room could be constructed with an open balcony all around. For the first time in the history of Karnataka, watch towers were built in the Capital City during the Vijayanagara period, because the Capital City was 25 sq.kms. in its circumference. In inscriptions watch towers are referred as *Kottalas*. They were built at regular intervals along the fort wall and in the royal enclosure to guard the City or the Royal Enclosure from the enemies. Security personnel were posted in these towers throughout the day and night for security reasons. There were two types of watch towers in the Vijayanagara City. The rulers constructed

¹ Devaraj D.V., Patil. C.S. – VPR – 1984-87, p.191

huge palaces for the royal members. Even though they were within high walls, watch towers were constructed because of the continuous threat from the Bahmani Sultans.

The Vijayanagara forts have rectangular bastions projected from the line of the fort walls. As the fort itself is built by utilising the natural gaps in between the spurs of granite outcrops, there are several natural, strategic boulder tops which have been ideally used as watch towers. The watchtowers are all located in line with the inner City fortification.

Besides forts there were four excellent architecturally designed Watch Towers in the City. They are: The Stone Watch Tower in Dannayaka's Enclosure, the Octagonal Watch Tower, the Northern Watch Tower in Zenana Enclosure and Southern Watch Tower in Zenana Enclosure. Among these the Watch Tower situated in the southern direction of the Zenana Enclosure and the Octagonal Watch Tower are in the Islamic architectural style. The Octagonal Watch Tower resembles in style the Lotus Mahal. There are arches on eight sides above which there is a chamber in circular shape with square windows with supporting projections and open balcony. There are windows in arch shape. This tower is in two storeys and there is a dome on its top. Thus, this is one of most magnificent structures in the City.

Another noteworthy watch tower is located in the southern side of the Zenana enclosure. This is also in the similar style of Octagonal Watch

Tower. But it is built on an octagonal pillar. This structure is completely in Indo-Saracenic style. To reach the top there are flights of steps. At the top we can see the open arch windows without projecting balcony and also arch windows with projecting balconies. This is also a two storeyed watch tower but the middle portion is not completely covered with the floor. In the down stair there are eight arches bigger than the arches on the top. But here half of arches are covered with bricks and rest is open. Like Octagonal Watch Tower, the top of this Watch Tower dome is decorated.

The Zenana Enclosure is adorned with one more beautiful Watch Tower, which is square in its shape. There are open arches in the middle of the walls to get air and light to the stair case. It is built with bricks. At the top there is a square room and arched open windows with a balcony. But this tower is simple in its structure except the windows.

In the similar way there is another Watch Tower of stone in the Dannayaka's Enclosure. This is completely different in structure from the rest of the Watch Towers. The Multi Domed Watch Tower is built in the north-west corner of the Dannayaka's Enclosure, directly west of the Hazara Rama temple. This Watch Tower is raised on the enclosure walls and is reached by a long flight of steps. At the upper level there are four domed chambers, those on the west and north having projected balconies supported by corbeled brackets. The walls and inner surfaces are un-adorned.

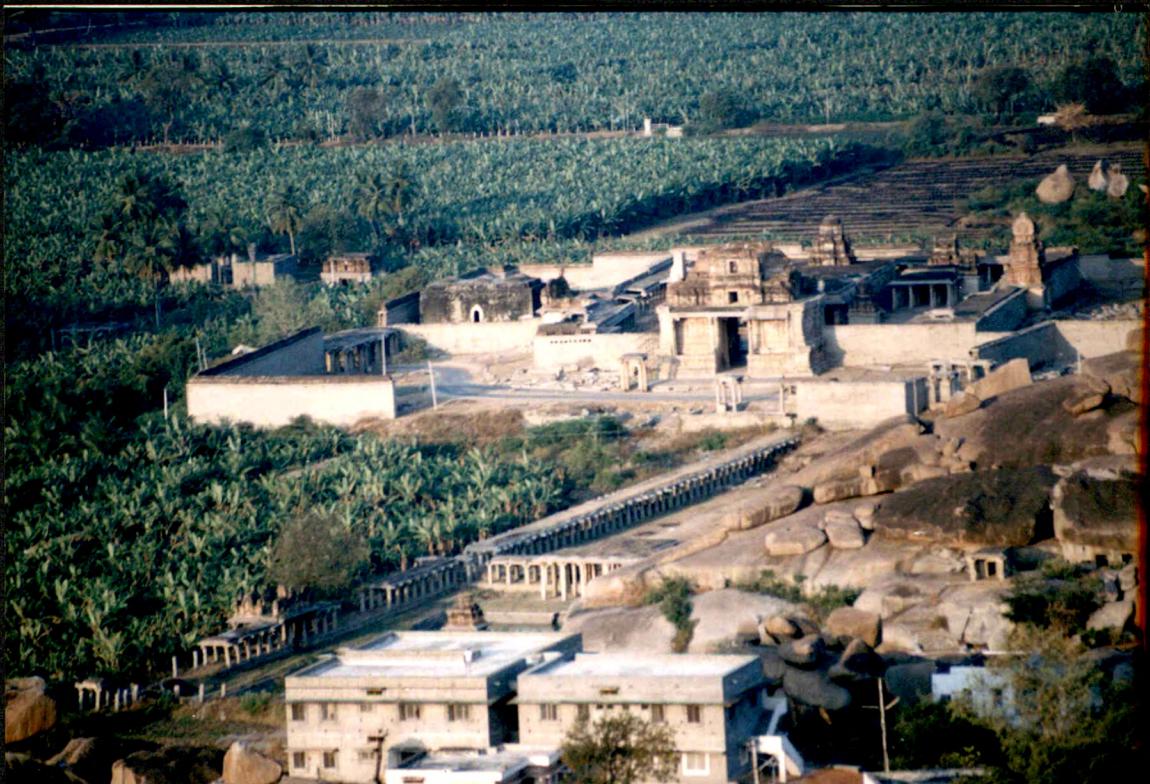
Thus, these four towers are completely varied in their design. In addition to these four, there are twelve other *kottalas* mentioned in epigraphs. They are Pratāpa Kottala, Matangadēvara Kottala, Hampeya Kottala, Svāmidrohanagandana Kottala¹, Hanumana Kottala, Sankaradevara Kottala, Anegondiya Kottala, Madana Kottala, Misragandana Kottala, sōmayadēvara Kottala, Malalavinayaka Kottala, and Jalasēnadevara Kottala².

Like many other beautiful religious structures Capital City also contained ornate several secular buildings in and outside the City.

¹ Devaraj D.V. and Patil C.S. – VPR, 1984-87, p.192
² Nagaraj Rao M.S. – VPR, 1983-84, pp.98-99



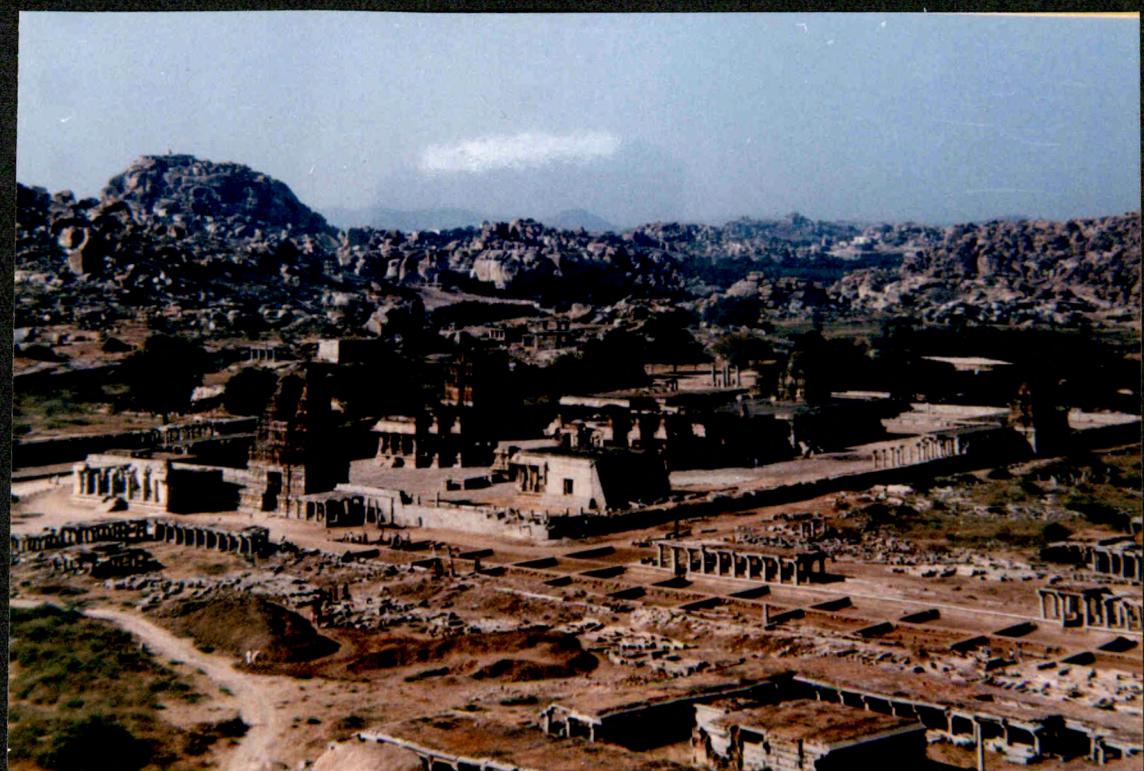
Virupakshapura



Krishnapura



Achyutapura



Vitthlapura



Mallikarjuna Temple – Malapanagudi



Anantasayana Temple – Anantasayanagudi



Virupaksha Temple Tower



Vitthala Temple



Hazara Rama Temple



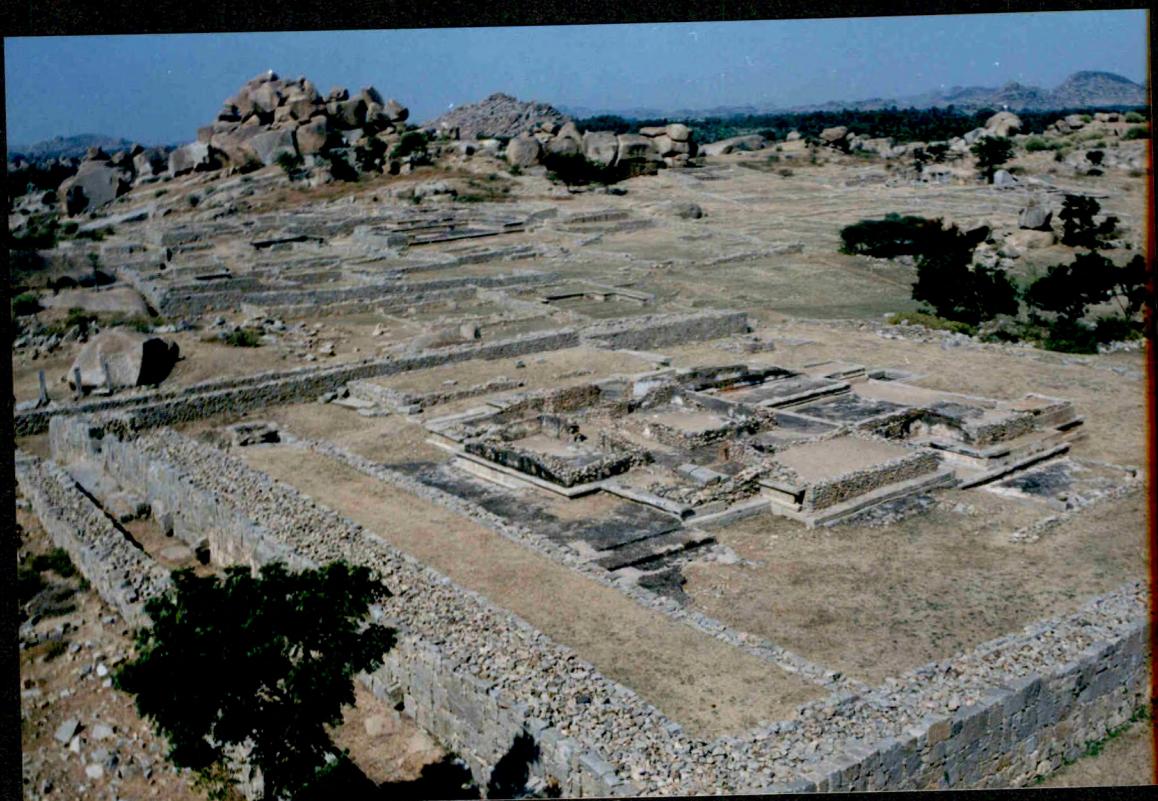
Krishna Temple



Pattabhi Rama Temple



Palace Basement – Zenana Enclosure



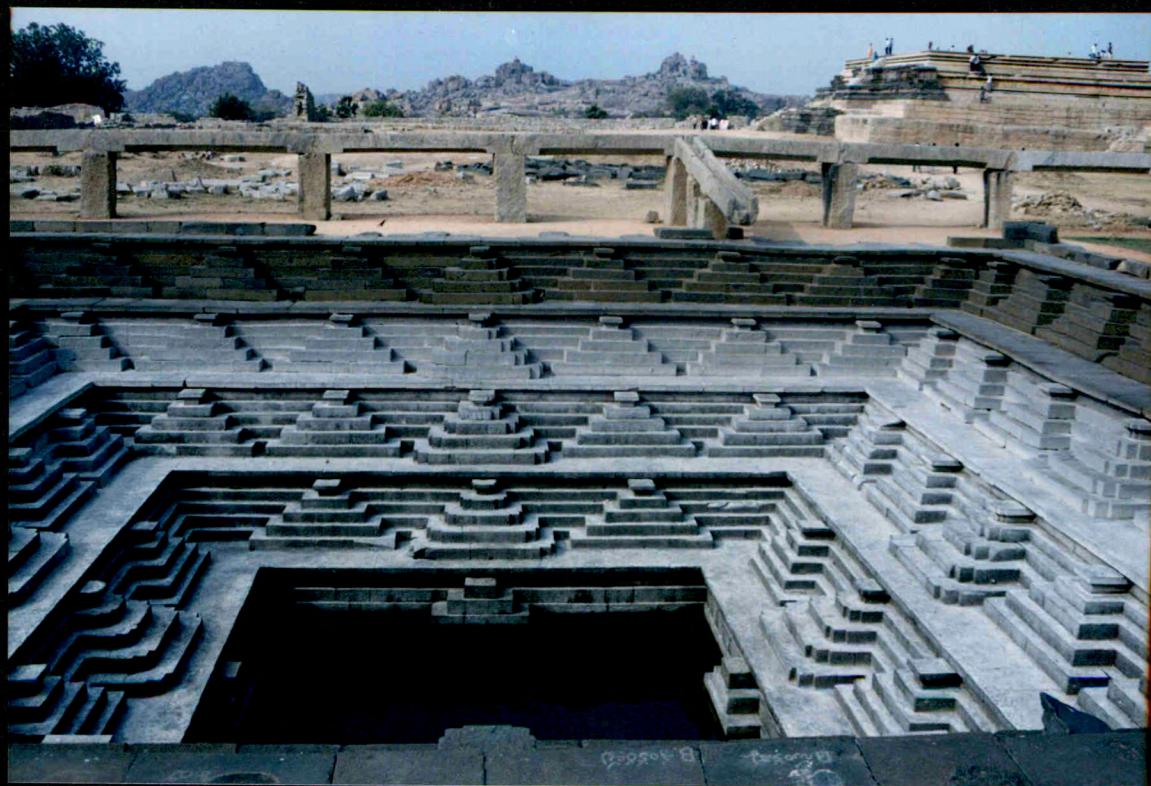
Palace Structures – Noblemen's Quarters



The Elephant Stables



Guards' Quarters



The Stepped Tank – Pushkarni



The Lotus Mahal



Mahanavamidibba



The Queen's Bath



Aresankara Gateway – Talavaraghatta Gateway



Domed Gateway



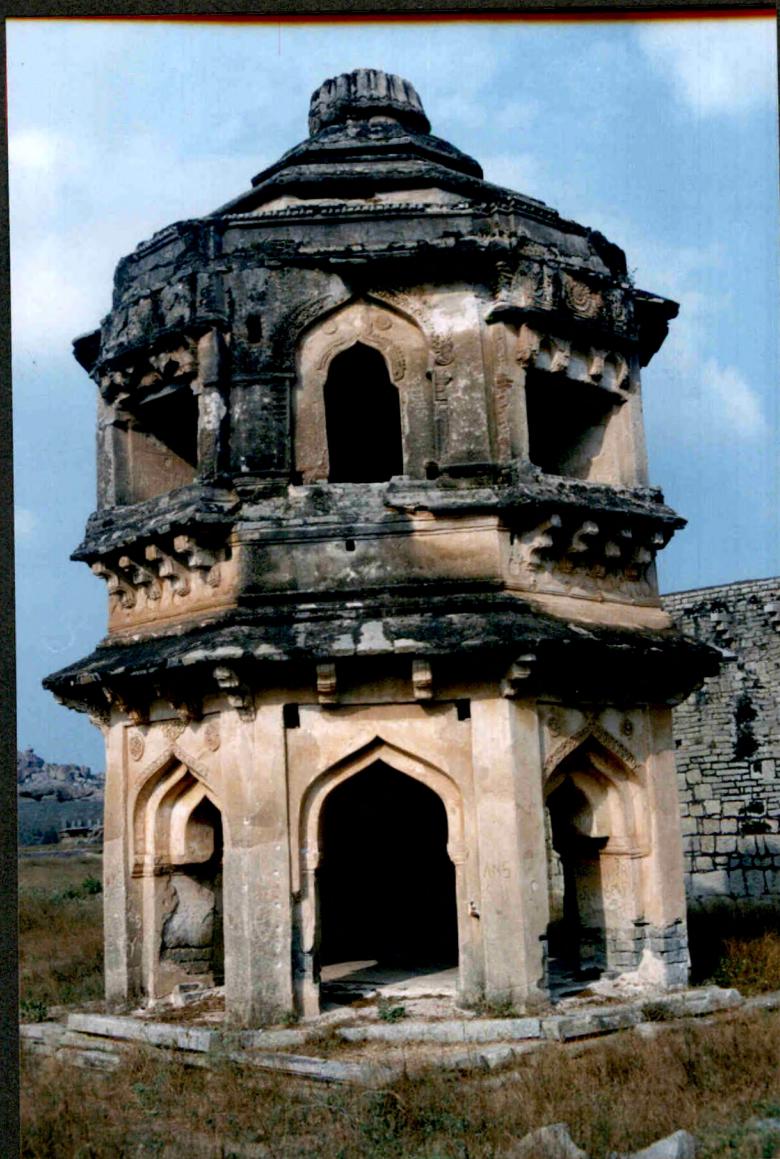
Singarada Hebbagilu – Ornate Main Gate



Bhima's Gateway



The Stone Watch Tower – Dannayak's Enclosure



Octagonal Tower – Dannayak's Enclosure



Southern Watch Tower - Zenana Enclosure



Northern Watch Tower – Zenana Enclosure

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

The study of urbanization is a recent one. This can be studied from sociological, political, economic and historical points of view. It is interesting to study the development of urbanization from different angles which altogether would give a complete picture of urbanization. The present study is based on archaeological and literary sources including foreign accounts. These source enable one to understand the origin and growth of Vijayanagara Urbanity in medieval times of Karnataka. Urbanization is a process in which socio-economic and cultural changes can be seen. Urbanization unfolds the development of civilization of a place or an area.

The Vijayanagara empire was ruled by four dynasties from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1565 with Vijayanagara as its capital. At the same time the Bahmani kingdom was established in A.D. 1347 with Gulbarga as its capital. But within a short span of time this kingdom was disintegrated and there rose five Sultanates viz., Adilshahi's at Bijapur, Barid Shahi's at Bidar, Imad Shahi's at Berar, Qutub Shahi's at Golkonda and Nizam Shahi's at Ahmednagar. Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdoms and the later five Sultanates with different religious background and political ambitions fought continuously to establish their political supremacy in the northern part of Karnataka. Besides these, other rulers like Gajapatis of Orissa,

Reddis of Kondavidu and Kondapalli also tried their level best to make inroads in the territories of others. Under such political circumstances it was inevitable to the rulers of Vijayanagara to protect their kingdom from invasions. Amidst all these continuous attacks and counter attacks Vijayanagara rulers succeeded in all fields like construction of huge temple complexes for the first time, construction of secular buildings, dams, maintaining good relationship with the Portuguese, development of trade and commerce and development of industries. This enabled them to maintain peace and harmony within the empire which gave raise to the development of Puras and Suburbs around the temple premises. All these activities testify to the bold and dynamic approach of the rulers towards the protection and development of the kingdom.

In medieval period urban centres emerged as a consequent of different factors. All these factors or any of these factors were be responsible for the emergence of urban centres. But as for as Vijayanagara City is concerned geographical, administrative, religious, military, educational, intellectual, fine arts, economic and commercial factors contributed for the development of the place into a metropolis. The existence of natural hillocks, the perennial river of the Tungabhadra and the fertile lands played an important role in selecting Hampi as the Capital City and the founders concentrated their attention on its expansion. The religious

tolerance encouraged them to construct beautiful and huge temples of Virupāksha, Vitthala, Bālakrishna, Hazāra Rāma, Tiruvengalanātha, Pattābhi Rāma and Raghunātha temple and to convert this place into a religious centre also. Trade and commerce, both internal and external flourished in the City. This helped led to the development of markets in every Pura. As it was the Capital City, merchants from different parts of the empire and foreign countries like Arabia and Portugal established their trade contacts with it. Temples of various faiths promoted education and played an important role in bringing about social awareness. The rulers gave much attention to protect the people and their wealth from the enemies. So construction of a formidable fort was of the times.

Traders and merchants constituted an important section of the society. They had powerful voice in the day to-day matters of the City. These merchants formed associations of different professions which were known as guilds. These guilds functioned as banks and engaged themselves in the welfare of the City. There are instances of construction of tanks, temples and renovation of temple and grants made to temples by these guilds. As they were powerful they controlled the administration of the City. Hence, they were called Pattanasvāmi, Mahājana, Setti, Pattanasetti etc. They conducted fairs and festivals and collected taxes from the people. Thus, they organised

and managed the City administration and provided civic amenities to the people.

From the study it is very clear that Vijayanagara society was a conglomeration of different communities of priests, warriors, traders, craftsmen, artisans, masons, etc. Even though they belonged to different communities, castes and faiths they worked together for the development of the City. In the initial stage there were minor incident of communal conflict but the intervention of king settled these dispute amicably.

The priestly community played an important role in the field of education as teachers and as great scholars in the field of literature and as advisers to the king in the council of ministers. Through *agraharas* they imparted education and subjects like Vedas, Puranas, Upanishads, history, astronomy, astrology, medicine, logic, grammar, language, music and literature were taught to students. They performed important religious functions in the society. Fairs and festivals were celebrated in the Capital City under their guidance and supervision.

The warrior community was engaged in the protection of the kingdom. With their valour and dedication the Vijayanagara empire had spread not only in Karnataka but into Andhra, Orissa and Tamil Nadu. They used different types of weapons at the time of invasions. The artisans of different categories like blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, weavers, etc.,

played an important role in the economic sphere of the society. All these people were engaged in auxiliary professions of industries and civic works.

The Rayas of Vijayanagara were great lovers and generous patrons of literature. Their lavish generosity attracted to their court a galaxy of eminent poets. The love, encouragement and patronage of Vijayanagara kings, their nobles and feudatories resulted in a tremendous growth and development of literature, art, architecture, dance, music, sculpture and painting. The age of the Vijayanagara Rayas was characterised with an outburst of great literary activities. The Vijayanagara City was a multilingual centre. The Court patronage of the Rayas brought about the revival of Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil language and literature containing much of originality. The rulers and members of the royal families of Vijayanagara were not only the patrons of literature, but were themselves great scholars. Some of them were distinguished poets as well. In the history of Vijayanagara under the first dynasty of the Sangamas, the rule of Devaraya II is rightly hailed as the 'golden age of literature'. Krishnadevaraya's reign ushered a new era in the history of south Indian literature. He was the patron and poet laureate of the first order among all the Raya's of Vijayanagara. Krishnadevaraya's royal court was called 'Bhuvanavijaya', in which *Ashtadiggajas* flourished. The royal patronage fostered the growth of languages and literature. The *Madhuravijayam*, the *Amuktamalyada*, the *Sivatatva Chintamani*, the

Pampasthanavarnam, *Mōhanatarangini*, *Channabasavapurāṇa* and other works give glimpses of Vijayanagara City. During Vijayanagara period Dasa literature became popular. The royal court of Rayas was a paradise and a meeting centre of Jaina, Śaiva, Virashaiva, Vaishnava and Śri Vaishnava scholars.

Vijayanagara rulers were the great builders of temples, secular buildings and monolithic statues. The Vijayanagara City is adorned with artistically built beautiful temples like Virupāksha, Vitthala, Hazāra Rāma, Bālakrishna, Pattabhi Rāma, Tiruvengalanātha and Raghunātha etc. The construction of these temples was a continuous process. Hence, it attracted architects, sculptors, artisans on a large scale. Salient features like constructing sub temples within the premises of the temple complexes and huge *gopuras* and *sikharas*, installing independent huge monolithic statues are noticeable. This is the main contribution of the Vijayanagara rulers in the field of architecture in Karnataka.

During Vijayanagara period religious ceremonies and various festivals were celebrated in temples. So, temples provided employment opportunities to various communities of the society like oilmongers, carpenters, musicians, dancers, trumpeters, garland makers, *chouri* bearers etc. Temples were also centres of education. Saints, sages and *munis* lived in different religious *mathas* attached to temples. The kings, merchants,

ministers, *dandanayakas* and guilds gave liberal donations to temples. As a result of this temples of Vaishnavas, Śaivas, Jains and mosques can be seen even today in the Vijayanagara City area. Thus, the religious harmony was maintained.

Festivals provided a healthy diversion from the monotony of domestic life. The congregation of different people at a place gave them an opportunity for getting together and for all kinds of merry making. People liked them and participated enthusiastically. So, festivals were organised periodically in the City. Three important festivals were *Mahānavami*, *Dipāvali* and *Holi*, while there were numerous other festivals. The most remarkable festival which dazzled the foreigners was the *Mahānavami* celebrations. Abdur Razzak, Paes and Nuniz give vivid descriptions of the spectacular celebrations of this festival. It was celebrated for nine days and nine nights with all pomp and glory. The *Mahānavami* festival gave pleasure and excitement to the people for all the nine days and nine nights and every word written about it by the foreigners speaks volumes for its grandeur and magnificence. Another celebration which evoked admiration from the foreign travellers' also was *Dipāvali* festival. The *Holi* was another festival mentioned in the indigenous literature and travellers' accounts.

Besides temples, Vijayanagara rulers constructed secular structures like *Mahānavamidibba*, Palaces, Queen's-Bath, Watch-Towers, Gateways,

Water Tanks, Elephant Stable, Noblemen's Quarters, Lotus Mahal etc.

Construction of these secular structures clearly indicates the scientific and technical knowledge of the experts. Because for the first time in the history of Karnataka different kinds of secular structures came up. Mosques were also constructed for the Muslim soldiers who were employed in the Vijayanagara army.

The genesis, growth and development of the extensions and suburbs and the life there constitute the main purpose of this study. For the first time in medieval Karnataka, a Capital City with 25 sq. kms. of circumference came into existence. Generally, this gave scope for the emergence of different extensions and suburbs in and around Vijayanagara City. In the Vijayanagara City the people considered temple as a focal point and began to live around the temple premises and the extensions, suburbs or *Puras* developed there. The *Puras* were invariably named after the founder rulers or after their family deity or their respective queens and sons.

Every temple had a perennial source of water either in the form of a well or tank. The perennial river of Tungabhadra was the main source of water for the different *Puras*. Water was brought to the extensions through under ground pipe-lines, which are recently noticed in Hosapete.

Temples were the centres of civic activities. Weekly markets were held in the car streets, where on either side shops were built. Market days were held on different days in different *Puras* of Vijayanagara City.

Thus, this interesting and instructive study of the Vijayanagara Urbanity gives a vivid account of the economic, social, religious and cultural life of the people living in the magnificent City. The emergence of the cities developed the notion of democratic government. So the idea of self government through local government bodies was continued without interruption.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

A. Inscriptions

- *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta, Delhi.
- *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1887 onwards.
- *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, Government of Karnataka, Mysore / Bangalore, 1906-1956.
- *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi.
- *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras/Calcutta.
- *A Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, 3 Vols- (Ed) V. Rangacharya, Madras, 1919.
- *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 1-16 Vols., (Ed) Rice B.L.- Bangalore, 1879
- *Epigraphia Indica* – 36 Vols., Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta.
- *Kannada University Epigraphical Series: III, Hampi Inscriptions*- (Ed) Devarakonda Reddy, Prasaranga, Kannada University, Hampi-Vidyaranya, 2000.
- *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, Robert Sewell's Collection*, (Ed), S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Madras, 1932
- *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, no. 5- Krishnasastri, H., Hyderabad, 1922.
- *Indian Antiquary, A Journal of Oriental Research*, Bombay.
- *Mysore Inscriptions*- Rice, B.L. Bangalore, 1879.
- *Nellore District Inscriptions*, 3 Vols.-Butter Worth, A and V. Venugopal Chetty, Madras, 1905.
- *South Indian Inscriptions*, 23 Vols., Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

- *Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions, 6 Vols inscriptions.* (Ed) Vjayaraghavacharya, Madras, 1933-1938.
- *Vijayanagara Inscriptions, 3 Vols.*, Gopal,B.R., Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1985, 1986, 1990.
- *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1979-83* (Ed), Nagaraja Rao, M.S. Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1983.
- *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1983-1984.* (Ed) Nagaraja Rao M.S, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1985.
- *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1984-87.*, (Ed) Devaraj, D.V. and Patil, C.S., Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1991.
- *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1987-88*, (Ed) Devaraj, D.V. and Patil, C.S., Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1991.

B. Literature

- Ayyangar, Krishnaswamy S.- *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Madras: University of Madras, 1919.
- _____ *South India and her Mohammadan Invaders*, Oxford, 1921.
- Gangadevi- *Madhuravijayam*, (Ed) S.Tiruvenkatachari, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1957.
- Krishnadevaraya-*Amuktamalyada*, (Ed) Vedam Venkata Sastry, Secundarabad, 1979.
- Kumara Vyasa-*Kumara Vyasa Bharata Sangraha*, (Kannada), (Ed), M.V. Seetharamaiah, B.M. Sri Smaraka Prathisthana, Bangalore, 1990.
- Lakkanna Dandesha- *Sivatatva Chintamani*, (Kannada) (Ed) Basappa S. Prasaranga, University of Mysore, Mysore, 1960.
- Madayyagari Madhava, *Rajasekhara Charitamu*, Hyderabad, 1967.
- Narasimhacharya R. (Ed). *Karnataka Kavi Charitre*, 2 Vols. (Kannada) Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, 1972.

- Nilakanta Sastri K.A. and Venkataramanayya, N.-*Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, 3 Vols*, University of Madras, Madras, 1946.
- Panchamukhi R.S, (Ed) *Virupaksha Vasantotsava Champu, (Kannada)* Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1953.
- Pingali Suranna,- *Kalapurana dayamu*, Vishakhapatnam, 1938.
- Somanatha, *Sri Vyasyogicharitam*, (Ed) B. Venkoba Rao, Bangalore, 1926.
- Srinatha- *Sivaratri mahatyamu*, Hyderabad, 1968.
- Tirumalamba, *Varadambika Parinaya champu* - Suryakanta Sastri, Chowklamba, Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1970.
- Vallabharya, *Kridabhiramamu*, Hyderabad, 1960.
- Virupaksha Pandita-*Channabasava Purana*, Dharwad, 1934.

C. Chronicles and Traveller's Accounts

- Briggs, John- *History of the Rise of Mohomedan Power in India, till the year 1612*. Calcutta, 1966.
- Edward Grey- (Ed) *The Travels of Pietro della velle in India. 2 Vols.* Hakluyt Society, London, 1892.
- Elliot and Dowson- *The History of India as Told by its own Historians Vol. III and IV*, London, 1871-1872.
- John Winter Jones- *The Travels of Ludovicodi Varthema*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1863.
- Major R.H-*India in the Fifteenth Century*, Deep Publications Delhi, 1974.
- Long worth Dames, M- *The Book of Durate Barbosa An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, 2 Vols.* Hakluyt Society, London, 1918.
- Samuel Purchas- *His Pilgrims*, Vol. IX, James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1905.

- Sewell Robert- *A Forgotten Empire*, Asian Publications, New Delhi, 1987.

Secondary Sources (Modern Works):

- Altekar, A.S.- *Education in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1975
- Akki Basavaraj N.- *Municipal Administration in Princely State of Mysore (1862-1956)*, Madras, 1936.
- Appadorai A- *Economic Conditions in Southern India, 1000-1500 AD Vol. I and II*, Madras-1936.
- Basavaraja K.R. – *History and Culture of Karnataka (Early time to Unification)*, Chalukya Publications, Dharwad, 1984.
- Betageri Krishna Sharma - *Karnatakada Jana Jeevana*, (Kannada), Dharwad, 1971.
- Bevinakatti Manjunatha - *Vijayanagara Samskritika Ayamagalu*, Sri Vidya Vijayanagara Hampi Heritage Trust, Anegondi-Hospet, 1997.
- Bhandarkar, R.G.- *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems.*, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1965.
- Bhoosanurmath S.S.- *Vijayakalyana*, (Kannada) Mahakavi Harihara Smaraka Samshodhana Kendra, Sri. Jagadguru Kotturswamy Math, Hampi, 1988.
- Bhargavi, S.- *Krishnadevaraya: His life and achievement*, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1972.
- Bruce Foote, - *The Foote Collection of Indian Pre historic and proto historic antiquities*, Government Museum, Madras, 1916.
- Burton Stein- *The New Cambridge History of India: Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1999
- Chidanandamurthy M.- *Kannada Sasana Gal Samsritika Adhyana* (Kannada) Prasaranga, Mysore University, Mysore, 1966.

- Chidanandamurthy M.- *Hosathu Hosathu* - Kannada Book Authority, Bangalore, 1988.
- Dallapiccola, A.L., (Ed) *Vijayanagara City and Empire: New Currents of Research*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985.
- Desai P.B. - (Ed) *A History of Karnataka*, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwad, 1970.
- Devakunjari, D.- *Hampi*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1988.
- Devaraj, D.V. and Patil C.S.- (Ed.) *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research, 1984-87*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1991.
- _____ *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research, 1987-88*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1991.
- Dikshit, G.S.- *Local Self Government in Medieval Karnataka*- Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1964.
- _____ (Ed) *Early Vijayanagara Studies in its History and Culture, (Proceedings of S. Sri. Kantaya Centenary Seminar)*, B.M.S. Memorial Foundation, Bangalore, 1988.
- Diwakar, R.R.- (Ed)-*Karnataka Through the Ages (from Prehistoric Times to the Day of the Independence of India)*, Government of Mysore, Bangalore, 1969.
- Dubois, Abbe J.A. - *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Translated and edited by H.K. Beauchamp, Oxford University Press, London, 1936.
- Filliozat Pierre Sylvain and Filliozat Vasundhara, *Hampi- Vijayanagar: The Temple of Vithala*, Sitaram Bharatia Institute of Scientific Research, New Delhi, 1988.

- Filliozat Vasundhara - *Vijayanagar: As Seen by Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz (16th Century Portuguese Chroniclers and others)*, National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 1999.
- Francis, W.- *Bellary, Madras District Gazetteers*, Madras, 1904.
- Gupta, Chandra Bhan, *Indian Theatre*, Banaras, 1954.
- Gururajachar, S. - *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnataka*, Mysore, 1974.
- Heras, H.- *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1929.
- _____ *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Vol. I, B.G. Paul and Company, Madras, 1927.
- Heras, H - *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol.I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980.
- Hiremath R.C, - (Ed.) *Kanakadasara Mohanatarangini*, Kannada Adhyana Pitha, Dharwad, 1973.
- Hayavadana Rao, C., *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol.II, Pt.III, Government of Mysore, Bangalore, 1930.
- Hiremath, B.R. - *Sasanagalalli Karnatakada Vartakaru* (Kannada), Prasaranga, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1986.
- Jevoor S. V., - *History of Education in Karnataka*, Dharwad, 1952.
- Joshi, S.K - *Defence Architecture in Early Karnataka*, Sandeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1985.
- John M. Fritz, George Michell and Nagaraja Rao, M.S.- *The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara Preliminary Report*, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1984.
- John Gollings, J.M. Fritz and G.Michell – *City of Victory*, Aperture Press, Newyork, 1991.

- Kamat, Jyotsna K- *Social Life in Medieval Karnataka*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980.
- Kamat U. Suryanath - *Karnataka Gazetteer, Pt. I and II*, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 1982.
- Kamesvara Rao - *Select Vijayanagara Temples of Rayalaseema*, Hyderabad, 1976.
- Kivudanavar Jagadeesh,- *Festivals in Vijayanagara Empire* - Unpublished Thesis, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 2000.
- Kotraiah, C.T.M. - *Hampe - Veerasaiva Mathagalu mattu Sahitya Parampare* (Kannada), Sri. Sharana Suvasini Balaga, Hospet, 1999.
- Krishnappa, M.V. and Patil, C.S- *Vijayanagara Adhyana* (Kannada), Vol. IV, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1999.
- Longhurst, A.H,- *Hampi Ruins, Described and Illustrated*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1999
- Mahalingam, T.V.- *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, University of Madras, Madras, 1951.
- _____ *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara*, 2 parts, University of Madras, Madras, 1969 and 1975.
- _____ *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1955 and 1967.
- Malashetty M. Basavaraja - *Enginta Kiriyarilla* (Kannada), Koppal, 1999.
- Majumdar, R.C.- Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's *History and Culture of Indian People, Vol V, The Struggle for Empire*, Bombay, 1979.
- Michell, G. - *Vijayanagara: Architectural Inventory of the Urban Core*, 2 Vols, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1990.
- Nagaraja Rao, M.S.- (Ed.) *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research, 1979-83*, Direcorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1983.

- Nagaraja Rao, M.S.- (Ed.) *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research, 1983-84*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1985.
- Nagaraju, H.M.- *Devaraya II and His Times*, Prasaranga, Mysore University, Mysore, 1991
- Naikar Basavaraj - *Kanakadasa*,- National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 2001.
- Narasimhaiah, B - *Metropolis Vijayanagara Significance of Remains of Citadel*, Book India Publishing, Company, Delhi, 1992.
- Nagegowda, H.L.- *Pravasi Kanda India* (Kannada), Mysore University, Mysore, 1966.
- Nirupama- *Amuktamalyada* (Kannada), Kannada University, Hampi, 1999.
- Narasimhamurthy, A.V. - *Archaeology of Karnataka*, Mysore University, Mysore, 1978.
- Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.- *History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagara* , Madras, 1977.
- Nilakanta Sastri K.A. and Venkataramanayya N.- *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vols. I-III, Madras, 1946.
- Narasimhacharya, R.- *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, (Kannada), Vol. II, Bangalore, 1973.
- Noboru Karishima - *South Indian History and Society, Studies from Inscriptions A.D. 850- 1800*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1984.
- Ojha, P.N.- *Aspects of Medieval Indian Society and Culture*, Delhi, 1978.
- Panchamukhi, R.S. - *Virupaksha Vasantotsava Champus*, (Kannada) Kannada Research Institute, Dharwad, 1953.
- Patil, C.S. - *Temples at Raichur and Bellary Districts (Karnataka 1000 – 1325 A.D)*, Mysore, 1992.

- Patil Madhao P. - *Court Life Under the Vijayanagara Rulers*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1999.
- Rajasekhara, S.- *Master pieces of Vijayanagara Art*, D.B. Taraporevala Sons and Co. Bombay, 1983.
- _____ *The Map Approach to Vijayanagara History*, Sujata Publications, Dharwad, 1985.
- Rama Sharma, M.H.- *The History of Vijayanagara Empire*, 2 Vols. Edited by M.H. Gopal, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1978, 1980.
- Rama Rao, M.- *Krishnadevaraya*, National Book Trust Of India, New Delhi, 1971.
- Ramamurthy, J.R.- (Ed), *The Vijayanagara Heritage*, Sri Vidya Vijayanagara Hampi Heritage Trust, Anegondi- Hospet, 1996.
- Ramachandra Rao - *The Economics of Leather Industry*, Calcutta University Press, Calcutta, 1925.
- Saletore, B.A.- *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1346-A.D. 1646)*, 2 Vols, B.G. Paul and Co. Madras, 1934.
- _____ *Medieval Jainism with Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire*, Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay, 1938.
- Saletore, R.N.- *Vijayanagara Art*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1982.
- Sarojini Devi, K. - *Religion in Vijayanagara Empire*, Sterling Publishers, Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1990.
- Settar, S.- *Hampi a Medieval metropolis*,- Kalayatra, Bangalore, 1990.
- Sherwani, H.K. and Joshi, P.M.- *History of Medieval Deccan (1295- 1724)* 2 Vols. Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1973, 1974.
- Sheshagiri, K.R.- (Ed) *Rudrakaviya Karasthala Nagalinga Charitre* (Kannada), Bangalore.
- Somasekhara, S.Y. - *Hampeya Bajaragalu* (Kannada), Prasaranga Kannada University, Hampi- Vidyaranya, Kamalapurā, 1997.

- Sri Lakshmi Katragadda - *Women in Vijayanagara*, Delta Publishing House, Delhi, 1995.
- Srinivasan K.R.- *Temples of South India*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1972.
- Sree Rama Sharma, P- *Tulva Dynasty*, Hyderabad, 1979.
- Sundaram, K.- *Studies in Social and Economic Conditions of Medieval Andhra*, Madras, 1968.
- Suryanarayan Row, B.- *The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1993.
- Srikantaiah, K.- *Vijayanagarada Kaladalli Kale Sahitya* (Kannada), The Directorate of Kannada and Culture, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 1983.
- Sivaramamurti, C.- *Vijayanagara Paintings*, Publications Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting New Delhi, 1985.
- Sugandha- *History and Archaeology of Anegundi*, Poona University, Poona, 1986.
- Thomas,P.- *Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners*, Bombay, 1956.
- Talbhoys Wheeler, J. - (Ed) *Early Travels in India, (16th and 17th Centuries)*, Deep Publications, Delhi, 1976.
- Tukarama Rao, H. - *Hosapete-Charitrika Vivechane Iaithihya Parisheelane*, Sri Sharana Suvasini Balaga, Hospet, 1997.
- Talwar, H.T.- *Jaina Art and Architecture at Vijayanagara (Hampi)*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums Mysore, 1997.
- Vara Pande, M.L.- *Traditions of Indian Theatre*, New Delhi, 1979.
- Vatsyayana, K.- *Dance in Indian Painting*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1982.
- Venkataramanayya. N.- *Origin of Vijayanagara: The City and the Empire*, Madras, 1993.

- Venkataramanayya. N.- *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1986.
- Verghese Anila - *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed Through its Monuments*, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1985.
- *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association, Dharwad, 1936.
- Vijaya Rama Swamy- *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985.
- Venkataramappa, K- *Sri Krishnadevarayana Kalada Kanrnatakandhra Sahitya Samikshe* (Kannada), Mysore University, Mysore, 1974.

Journals:

- Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings
- Hyderabad Archaeological Series
- Indian Antiquary
- Indian Economic and Social History Review
- Indian Historical Quarterly
- Journal of Indian History
- Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
- Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
- Journal of Indian History
- Journal of Oriental Research Institute
- Journal of Karnatak University (Social Sciences)
- Proceedings of Indian History Congress
- Proceedings of South Indian History Congress
- Proceedings of Karnatak History Congress
- Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society